







# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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## THE CALCUTTA REVIEW IN 1844.

BY W. S. URQUHART, M.A.

NEARLY seventy years have passed away since the publication of the first number of the *Calcutta Review*—in May 1844 ; and at the commencement of a new series it may be fitting to indulge in a certain amount of retrospect. As might have been expected the history of the *Review* has been a somewhat varied one. In the first two or three decades of its existence it enjoyed a measure of prosperity and influence greater perhaps than has fallen to its share in more recent years. The comparative isolation of India at the time of the origination of the *Review* as well as the outstanding ability of its first editors and contributors gave it a unique opportunity, of which full advantage was taken. In more modern days the great expansion of periodical literature in the West and the perfecting of the means of communication by which the publications of the West come so rapidly into the possession of the reading public in the East, have increased the number of rivals in the field of interest previously occupied almost exclusively by the *Calcutta Review*, and while adding to the extent of its possible influence have diminished the multitude of its actual readers. Still the spirit of devolution is in the air, and the effect of this spirit may be felt even in regard to periodical literature. Public opinion must focus itself at many different places, and it is perhaps not too much to claim that Calcutta is still one of



the chief centres within the Empire at which there is both desire and need for vigorous and varied expression. Nor does it seem too much to hope that the *Review* which bears the name of the city which even it rivals, though somewhat grudgingly, still acknowledge to be the chief city in India, should continue to enjoy an honourable existence and perform an increasingly useful function.

But to turn from the future to the past—Dr. George Smith in an article on “The First Twenty Years of the *Calcutta Review*” describes the year 1844 as “in a sense the turning point of the history of the Press in India,” the reasons for his opinion being that with the recall of Lord Ellenborough and the arrival of Sir Henry Hardinge “the last traces of hostility and even hatred to independent journalism had passed away for ever.” During the reigns of Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough fierce controversies regarding questions of current politics had been raging in the newspapers, and there was a growing number of men, drawn from civilian, missionary and military circles, who were dissatisfied with the means of expression which short newspaper articles afforded them and sought a more permanent embodiment for their opinions. It was the prevalence of this desire which led to the foundation of the *Calcutta Review*.

A group of five men, all of them famous and destined to become still more famous than they were in 1844, was immediately responsible for the starting of the *Review*. Sir John Kaye was the leader in the enterprise and the first editor, but he had associated with him Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Duff, Captain Marsh and Mr. Marshman, and was at all times ready to acknowledge the help he got from his colleagues and contributors, especially from Sir Henry Lawrence. Sir John Kaye thus tells the story of the foundation of the *Review* and of his own fears and hopes regarding it. “It had occurred to me, then residing in Calcutta, to establish a *Review*, similar in form

and character, to the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Westminster Review*, but devoted entirely to Indian subjects and questions: It was a bold and seemingly hopeless experiment, and I expected that it would last out a few numbers and then die, leaving me perhaps a poorer man than before. Its success astonished no one more than myself. That it did succeed is in no small measure attributable to the strenuous support of Henry Lawrence." This support, which was afterwards to take the form of frequent and welcome articles, was expressed at the very beginning of the enterprise in words which must have brought much encouragement to the somewhat diffident would-be editor. Sir Henry Lawrence wrote to Kaye:— "It is with no small delight I hear of your intention to start a quarterly publication devoted to the discussion of Indian affairs; I have no fear of its premature decease." Thus encouraged and supported, Sir John Kaye proceeded with his venture. He had peculiar qualifications for editorship. He belonged to the distinguished corps of Bengal Artillery, and his profession brought him into touch with the foremost men in the service of the Government and also with those engaged in other occupations in India. The intimacy of his knowledge of the world in which he lived is very apparent in the book by which he was afterwards widely known—"The Lives of Indian Officers." Moreover he had had, even in 1844, considerable experience as an editor. He was a voluminous writer. During the first decade or so of the *Review* he was responsible for no fewer than 47 articles, and for six of these within the first year of its life. Now, when an editor contributes six articles, averaging no less than fifty closely printed pages, to the first numbers of this review, this argues either an inordinate desire for writing or much anguish and distress of mind due to disappointed hopes. We believe that the latter cause was mainly responsible in the present case and that the pioneer editor was not yet in the happy position of the editor of a few years later who lived in the days of

Mr. Seton-Karr and of whom it is said that when "from any cause he found the day of publication at hand and his list still defective had only to hint at his difficulty, and in good time most valuable M.S.S. would come in with the Jessore postmark." Sir John Kaye's first contributors were, like many contributors of a later date, very willing and even enthusiastic, but very unpunctual. Perhaps however we should remember to their credit that the postal arrangements were not so good then as now and that therefore the dilatory contributors of seventy years ago had available at least *one* really good excuse.

There were at hand, however, one or two friends on whom Sir John Kaye could rely. The first was Captain Marsh of the Bengal Cavalry. He was in spirit the *enfant terrible* of the little group of five, and the impetuosity of his articles provoked a controversy which had much to do with the degree of attention which the first number of the *Review* attracted. In his article on "The Rural Population of Bengal" he let himself go in lamentations over the disappearance of the old feudal aristocracy and the substitution for them of a class of middlemen whose sole motive was greed and for whom justice was but a cloak for oppression. It was not likely that the landholders of the time would like to be told that they had established in every district of Bengal "a reign of terror" not very remotely analogous to that of the Robespierrian era of the French Revolution" or that they would agree that the fundamental fact in the Indian social system was "the occupation of landed property by evil adventurers, whose relations to the peasantry are, in principle, destitute of the protective elements of patriarchy, and in practice notoriously infamous for cruelty, violence, fraud and every crime." Nor would the Europeans of 1844 exactly relish the description of the contents of their minds as "an indurated mass of bigotries and prejudices which no healthful meditation could melt to tenderness for the rights of their fellowmen."

Even Marsh's colleagues, who as a general rule were by no means averse to pointed criticism of existing institutions and were unsparing in their condemnation of any abuses which might come under their notice, thought that Marsh had in this article passed beyond the limits of just reproof and advised a more moderate tone. Marsh was unable to repress himself, and rather than bring the *Review* into trouble, ceased to contribute to its pages. His withdrawal must have lessened the gaiety of the editorial circles, as in the midst of his diatribes against society in general he had found time to poke fun at the editor and even at that serious-minded fellow-contributor—the great Alexander Duff. In the process of slowly evolving the article we have just referred to, Marsh made himself responsible for the following irreverent remarks: “I have more hope of my literary pluck now. In the midst of much calculated to depress and paralyze, I have evolved myself of some form and embodiment akin to an article. Great fact if true—if confirmed by worthy John Kaye, good John Kaye, true John Kaye, and running in the same coach with earnest solemn Duff—the silent, the unreplying, the uncorresponding Duff.” It may perhaps bring a measure of secret satisfaction to Duff's successors of later days to know that he did not always answer *all* his letters. He is usually represented as doing all that was expected of him and a good deal more.

The time which he thus saved from what was perhaps unnecessary correspondence with Marsh the famous missionary devoted to the writing of several substantial articles in the first few numbers of the *Review*. The first issue contains an article on “Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India,” giving a detailed account of the work of Ziegenbalg and his associates. This article was quickly followed by others on “Female Infanticide” and “The State of Indigenous Education in Bengal and Behar.” All the articles attain the bulk of small treatises, and in these more rapid days might appear to be unnecessarily

voluminous. In the first article he takes about ten closely printed pages to arrive at Ziegenbalg and in the article on "Female Infanticide" he devotes several pages to a general geographical description of the regions within which the unnatural crime was but too commonly perpetrated. Still even these introductory passages are marked by the glowing eloquence which did so much to inspire others to a belief in the cause of missions, by brilliant flights of eloquence, and by that rapid interrogative style which is calculated to excite attention and stimulate to action. There are echoes of controversies which were more "live" in these days than in ours. The methods of conversion employed by the earlier Romanist missionaries come in for discussion and Puseyism is daringly described as "that greatest and most pestilential of modern heresies" which it is suggested leads to the esoteric and very unmissionary doctrine that "there would evidently be a want of delicacy in treating of Christian truths before heathens." Other topics, however, are of more lasting interest. He commends Zeigenbalg and his friends for the distinction which they drew between a useful knowledge of the language of the country and a pedantic regard for purity of diction. "They could not be tempted to prefer a pretended and profitless purity to a real and demonstrable utility. They knew that purity of language is very much a matter of taste and time and relation and casual coincidence—and that, as no words are invented to express or represent nonentities, every language as it actually exists, is a mirror that accurately reflects the mind of any people, being exactly proportional to their state of culture and commensurate with their ideas. They adjudged therefore that for their direct, immediate, practical purpose, that language—whether pure or impure, original or derivative, simple or mixed—is and must be the best which is best understood and is the most effective medium for reaching the head and heart of those intended to be addressed." He is equally emphatic

in emphasizing the need of a thorough study of Hindu Mythology and Philosophy. "How many have come to India to propagate the Gospel who have overlooked and despised the elaborate and systematic study of Hindu Mythology and Philosophy. A few floating scraps and fragments they may, and indeed must pick up, as providence or chance may throw them, unsought for, in their way. But their proper nature and value, their proper place and bearing, their proper relation and connection with the system as a whole, they know not and cannot explicate. And so they blunder on to the delight of their adversaries and the confusion of their own cause."

In reference to the general question of the relation of non-missionary Europeans to the cause of the propagation of the Gospel, Dr. Duff rejoices in the marked improvement which has taken place between the days of Ziegenbalg and his own time, but he thinks there is still room for exhortation to improvement. "Let us rejoice," he says, "that, in India there has been of late years, so marked and decided an improvement in this respect, though there is still abundant room for a great deal more. Christians in general are not sufficiently impressed with a sense of the awful responsibility that devolves on them, as temporary sojourners in a heathen land. They little think how effectually they may be *preaching down* by their life and conduct, all that the most zealous ministers may be *preaching up* of faith and morals. Of all opposition theirs is the most destructive and fatal who under an external show of the same confession practically destroy the vitals of the Christian faith."

The article on "Indigenous Education" shows that in matters educational we have made some progress since 1844. Then, as now, the low pay of the teachers excited comment. The average pay per mensem in certain districts of Bengal was Rs. 1-8-7, and even in more favoured districts it was not above half what even in those days was given to the most humble domestic servants. In Burdwan, the most cultured district of these days, the percentage of

illiterates was 84 while in the Tirhoot district it was 97. Female education was practically non-existent. Only nine women were to be found in the whole city and district of Murshedabad who could read and write, while in certain neighbouring districts no adult females were found to possess even the rudiments of instruction. The little education which was given was of a primitive kind. Many of the village schoolmasters had never seen a printed book, and the use of even manuscript books was very infrequent. The quality of oral instruction was by no means elevating, and the writer is compelled to sum up the scheme of teaching as "throughout one of dull, dry, plodding, monotonous mechanism, congealing head and heart." He goes on to characterize the scheme of discipline as a reign of terror and gives a vivid description of some of the punishments in vogue. Here is one of the worst which the poor little boys had to endure. "Nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen; the pain is excruciating and often lasts a whole day; but however great the itching and the pain the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under dread of a flagellation in addition." As if this were not enough, the boy may be "put up in a sack along with some nettles, or a cat, or some other noisome creature, and then rolled along the ground." We are sorry for the cat as well as for the boy, and we hope these punishments were reserved for major offences. A drastic method of securing punctuality was resorted to. "The boy who comes first to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand; the next receives two strokes; and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him;—the first being the privileged (*sic*) administrator of them all." It is strange that as a result of all this the virtue of punctuality is not more prominent in these latter days, but perhaps the reason is that the first boy was not exactly encouraged by his schoolmaster, and, if human nature was the same

in 1844 as it is to-day—would certainly have been *discouraged*—afterwards—by his schoolfellow.

As has been said, Sir John Kaye was himself one of the most frequent contributors to the early numbers of the *Review*. Some of his articles relate to the then comparatively unknown outlying parts of India and some to current political questions such as “The War in China” and “The Administration of Lord Ellenborough.” Of more general interest are his two articles upon “The English in India.” Like all other writers on Indian subjects, both before and after his time, he laments the appalling ignorance of the homekeeping European in regard to Indian affairs. The opening paragraphs of one of his articles will bear repetition :

“Not many years have passed away since even well-informed people in England knew little more about an Anglo-Indian than that he was very rich—very yellow—and very ill-tempered ; that he dwelt in a country where fevers and liver complaints were abundant, where tigers and mosquitoes preyed on the human race, where hobkhas were smoked and widows burned and curry eaten and wealth acquired ; that he left England young, healthy and poor, and came back old, decrepit and rich. . . . Of India itself little more was known than that Madras and Calcutta were, somehow or other, two of its principal components ; that the climate was very hot and very unhealthy ; and that the Great Mogul, the hero of the playing cards, was one of its most magnificent potentates. Whether Madras was in Calcutta or Calcutta in Madras ; or whether they were contiguous cities, like London and Westminster ; whether Tippo Sahib was the Great Mogul, or whether the Great Mogul was one of the princesses of Oude ; all these were questions which only the very knowing were competent satisfactorily to solve. We have before us a novel, written just a quarter of a century ago—one too which enjoyed some popularity in its day—wherein the heroine is said to have proceeded to Madras up the River Hooghly ;



and another party is described as spending his time between Calcutta and Madras, as though they were as close as London and Hampstead. It is not to be forgotten that a certain reverend poet, novelist and dramatist, conspicuous less for his talents in either of these capacities than for his intense admiration of a profligate monarch, commenced his greatest poetical work with the notable line

There's glory on thy mountains, proud Bengal,  
Bengal being about as famous for its mountains as the  
Pay Bas ; but not more so."

Sir John goes on to note the great improvement which had taken place in means of communication and in the general conditions of life by the time at which he is writing. He mentions, with admiration of the commercial enterprize of Calcutta, that in the year 1839 no fewer than 516 vessels had arrived in the port, and that the voyage home could be accomplished in the extraordinarily short period of three months. His description of the voyage in 1844 is interesting both for the expressions of admiration which it calls forth from him and for its contrast with present day conditions. This was the ideal of excellence and comfort in 1844.

" Passages to Europe are cheaper than they were and more rapidly performed. The passenger vessels too as regards comfort and accommodation are of a greatly superior description. They are, indeed, floating hotels or boarding houses, where a man must be somewhat enjoyment-proof if he cannot contrive to enjoy himself

What if the floor does form an angle of 45 with the horizon ! Such little inconveniences as these soon become a source of amusement. One can put up with a good many discomforts in a place where there are no bills. The immunity from all the cares of business and housekeeping which the passenger enjoys is truly delightful. He pays his passage money before he ascends the side of the vessel, and is kept like a prince for three or four months without one

disturbing thought of the morrow. No wonder that, aided by a fresh bracing air, he soon runs to flesh. Among the amusements of voyage, *weighing* is not one of the least considerable. It is pleasant, especially in a homeward-bound, to watch the gradual advance of the passengers in obesity. Like Voltaire's trees they grow because they have nothing else to do . . . The splendid locomotive boarding houses are great inducements to the voyage to England. The comfort, the rapidity, and the cheapness of the passage, tempt many to undertake it, who, when a ship was five or six months on its way, and an indifferent cabin cost five hundred pounds would have prolonged their residence in India till wealth enabled or death compelled the worn-out old Indian to retire finally from the scene of his labours."

We are not so apt nowadays to make the comfort of boarding houses the criterion of the excellence of a steamship and we speculate in vain as to why obesity should be more pleasing on the homeward than on the outward voyage.

We have left almost unnoticed as yet the contributions of probably the most famous amongst the founders of the *Calcutta Review*—Sir Henry Lawrence. It was to his encouragement that it largely owed its initiation, and much of its widespread influence was due to his association with it. Sir John Kaye thus speaks of Lawrence's early connection with the *Review*: "As soon as he heard of my intention to start the *Calcutta Review* he promised to contribute to every number. He generally furnished two or three papers to each number of the *Review*. His fertility indeed was marvellous. I have a letter before me in which he undertook to supply to one number four articles, comprising a hundred and ten pages. His contributions were gravid with matter of the best kind, important facts accompanied by weighty opinions and wise suggestions."

One has only to glance over the contributions sent in by Sir Henry to see how true was the description of

them which has just been quoted. His literary work was characterized by the thoroughness which marked his career as a soldier and administrator. He was continually deploring and, as Sir John Kaye says, "not without reason," his lack of literary skill, but this deficiency could well be overlooked in view of the weightiness of the contents of his articles. The *Review* provided him with an opening which he had long desired for making known his views upon current questions and he valued highly the opportunity thus presented. In 1856 he draws the attention of Lord Canning to two articles which he had recently contributed to the *Calcutta Review*, the first on the "Indian Army" and the second on "Army Reform," and describes the question as one which he had long had at heart and as "the vital one of our Indian Empire."

The first article which he contributed to the *Review* of 1844 on the "Recent History of the Punjab" is a mine of historical information and has, in addition, the value of a biography. Probably the most famous article is that on "The Military Defence of our Empire in the East," which has been described as having "the flash of prophecy upon it." He tries to hold the balance between what he calls the irritative and the sedative schools in military politics—between the opinions of those who hold that security is possible only through continual demonstrations of strength and those who hold that the greatest degree of safety lies in the assumption of a peaceful and inoffensive character. He thinks that at the time at which he wrote the British Empire in India had reached the status of a schoolboy who "had fought his way to the very summit of pugilistic renown" and he thinks that the time had now come to merge the soldier in the civilian or, in other words, "to make a compromise between the irritative and sedative system." This is his ideal for the government of India. "We feel strong in our hearts the conviction that one good magistrate may be

better than a regiment ; one sound law well administered better than a brigade ; that civilians must co-operate with the military ; that neither unaided could maintain our empire ; but that a happy admixture of a just civil administration with the strong hand will retain the country in peace and happiness so long as it is good that we should hold it ; and it is not by believing either ourselves or our laws all purity or all corruption that we are likely to come to a right understanding of what is best for India, but by a close study of its past history, of the mistakes and the injustice of former rulers, Hindu, Mohammedan and European ; and then by settling ourselves down each in his own sphere and honestly working out the details of a code honestly and ably prepared."

One of the questions on which he writes most emphatically is the morality of the army in India. He ascribes the low standard of morality to the *ennui* of the soldier's life and to the absence of healthy ambition. He urges that it is the duty of the officers to provide such inducements for the soldier as to lead the latter to remain within barrack square and avoid the haunts of vice. "The officer has higher duties than the simple observance of military formalities. It is his duty to show to the soldiers that though exiles from home and aliens from their kindred they have yet a friend upon earth who will not desert them. The youth of a month's standing in the army, endowed with ordinary power of observation, must perceive that there are fifty ways open to his seniors by which they may advance the wellbeing and the happiness of the inmates of the barrack." For the provision of healthy ambition Lawrence would rely upon regular methods of promotions from the ranks by means of examinations at which soldiers of the best standing would be allowed to appear. He concludes his references to the morality of the army by a long quotation from Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" and an appeal to his fellow officers for "loyalty to the religion which they professed." Mindful of their own religious observances,

the Hindu and Mohammedan soldier, far from despising their Christian officer, will respect him the more on seeing that he has a religion; and the rudest of them will appreciate that man, who first in the fight—first in the offices of peace—is staunch to the duty he owes his God.” That article on “Romance and Reality in Indian Life” is the last to which we can refer. Lady Lawrence was responsible for this article along with her husband, and it is, probably for this reason, in lighter vein than his other contributions. It begins with a reference to the constant grievance of the European in India, the ignorance of those who have never seen India, and urges the need of a supply of “facts to correct fictions.” Then the writers go on to speak of the disallusionment which often comes to the new arrival in India and the subsequent depression. The Hooghly, it may be of interest to know, is specially responsible for the creation of this depression, and the following description is quoted with apparent approval: “After a sojourn of months on the great waters the first sight of land, if there be anything about it that wears the least look of gladness, is hailed by the weary voyager, as a very Paradise; but for the voyager as he enters the Hooghly river, though there be youth on his cheek and hope in his heart and abundant fancy in his brain, there is not one object to gladden his eyes, not one sight to raise pleasant expectations. All seems characteristic of the world he is about to enter, where sickness and death and desolation are the grand ingredients of the cup that is offered to him.”

This is all very depressing, and we are glad to find that the writers after all give only a qualified approval to the *sentiments of their quotation* and are quick to point out compensations for the desolations of first impressions. Soon the romance of the life that lies all about us will be discovered and the interests of our own particular occupation absorb us without narrowing us. There is no nobler field for talent and industry and no environment more

picturesque and attractive for those who condescend to regard it. Such is the opinion of Sir Henry and Lady Lawrence and with it many would be inclined to agree.

It is impossible to trace the subsequent history of the *Calcutta Review* within the limits of a short article. Sir John Kaye's editorship was a short one. He was succeeded in turn by Dr. Alexander Duff, Dr. Thomas Smith, Meredith Townsend, Dr. George Smith and Sir Richard Temple, all of them famous men who worthily maintained the reputation of the periodical and continued to cherish the high ideals which had inspired its founders. In 1844 the first editor wrote: "The object of this work is simply to bring together such useful information and propagate such sound opinion relating to Indian affairs, as will it is hoped conduce, in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first desire is to awaken interest; to induce a thirst for information, then to supply that information; and finally to teach the application of it to its most beneficial uses. *We call upon all men to declare what they know.*"

The appeal of the last few words may be repeated in this year of grace, 1913.

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# THE DIRECTION OF SOCIAL ADVANCE.

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**T**HERE is a drift of rivers and ocean currents, an ebb and flow of tides, a stern fatalism in frost and rainfall, sunshine and famine, a tyrannous law of diminishing returns on agricultural land ; but this drift is not a part of social progress. Nature furnishes, now with lavish hand, now with stepmotherly parsimony, raw materials for human arts and crafts; and Nature cannot be ignored in human plans. Drifting is not progress. No movement can be accurately described as "social" unless it is informed, inspired, guided, willed by consciously co-operating persons. The organizations by which this concerted volition finds expression are sometimes voluntary associations, as mutual benefit clubs or joint stock companies, and sometimes public, legal bodies endowed with authority, as municipalities, states, nations, empires. The voluntary association is often best for a narrow local enterprize, for pioneer experiments, for loyal assistance of counsel to public administrators ; but when the need for co-operation affects a great people the organ must be clothed with the dignity and force of regal or national power.

Genuine "social advance" is characterized by plans of co-operation, worked out by the most competent guides, intelligently accepted by a loyal people. There is no such reality as a "benevolent despotism;" true beneficence educates the people to enter into the plan with open eyes and personal conviction of its wisdom. A study of the direction of social advance in the modern world, which is here distinguished from so-called Greek Republics as well as ancient monarchies and mediæval royalties, reveals

a steady clarification of the popular conceptions of social ends. Of course no absolutely new element of well-being has been discovered or invented ; for Plato, Aristotle and many an ancient seer and philosopher can still be studied with profit because of their genial insight and hence their prophetic vision. Raphael and Michael Angelo made rude sketches of work to be developed later in nice detail and adequate expression. "The child is father of the man," and Wordsworth also said that "heaven lies about us in our infancy." Yet modernity has carried its analysis much further than Plato or Aristotle could do. We limit this brief article to relatively recent developments of social science in connection with practical life ; and these can never be separated in reality.

Adam Smith prepared himself, as Professor A. W. Small's monograph shows, to be a sociologist ; his "Moral Sentiments" suggests the outlines of a vast system which he did not live to develop. His "Wealth of Nations" narrowed his studies to a special field ; the very title gave a bias to political economy. We cannot blame his successors over much that many of them lost the clue to the master's vast design and followed his lead only in the discussion of the production of commodities and the phenomena of the market. The "Industrial Revolution" for a long time absorbed mental energy of business men, statesman and students of social science. The early part of the Nineteenth Century was a period of struggle with pauperism, with national ambitions, with urgent and perplexing problems of the great industry. The "Wealth of Nations" was a phrase on all lips. For a time it seemed as if the other human interests, even justice, mercy and faith, would be swallowed up by this leviathan. Money was almost deified by many ; the cry of the human was stifled ; the voice of religion was hushed in the clamour of the marketplace.

When, with Carlyle and Ruskin in England and the ethical economists of Germany, a more humane direction



was given to thought and law, another powerful interest came upon the field and seemed likely to absorb what mental energy was left from the hunt for pounds, shillings and pence, or marks, or francs, or dollars. This new claimant was physical science, which can well boast the names of such innovators and benefactors as Darwin and a magnificent array of investigators in the laboratories, seminaries and institutes of Germany and France. It is not strange that the absorbing pursuit of physical science, encouraged by a world chorus of grateful praise, sustained by an unselfish love of truth and stimulated by a sense of usefulness to mankind, should have gained a rather exaggerated appreciation. Those who are following the nature sciences are often inclined to question the right of social and historical studies to be called "science;" and it must be admitted that the latter are less exact in their methods and results, although they are of more direct human concern.

The recent rapid progress of preventive medicine through social organization in cities and on great public works like the Panama Canal has served well to bridge over the chasm between the physical and the social sciences. The duty of co-operation in saving life and promoting industrial efficiency has so fully gained public recognition that ethical considerations are woven in with medical technique, and the union has been fruitful. Commissioners of health directly solicit the aid of ministers of religion whose counsels are respected by the congregations of humble people who are accustomed to look up to their spiritual guides in matters of daily conduct. Thus the isolated and barren position of physical science is abandoned, and, in the noble desire to mitigate pain and combat disease, the medical profession has of late called to its alliance the social sciences and the leaders of philanthropy and legislation.

The æsthetic element is universal in humanity. Decoration by painting and tatooing goes before dress. In

hovels, flowers adorn the windows ; in palaces the income of princes goes to the reward of architects, sculptors and painters. The glorious and exquisite Taj Mahal, which makes Agra a kind of Mecca shrine for the pilgrim-votaries of Art from all the civilized world, was the product of the partnership of Oriental and Occidental artists. A touch of beauty—as well as of suffering—makes the world kin. In former ages only the kings and nobles could enjoy the highest creations of music, architecture and painting ; and even still the vast majority dwell amid sordid surroundings in which the finer nature is depressed. In lowest places the demand for colour, for flowing drapery, for dignified pose, for story and song witnesses to the universal hunger for beauty. One of the problem of social progress is to devise ways and means by which all the people may come into their inheritance of artistic traditions. As Lanier sang—

Alas ! for the poor to have part  
 In that secret living land of Art  
 Makes problem not for head but heart ;  
 Vainly might Plato's brain revolve it,  
 Plainly the heart of a child might solve it.

With the cheapening of means of transportation foreign travel now serves to send the stimulus of artistic zeal across the seas ; the poor children of Italy's emigrants wander with delight in the art institutes and galleries of New York and Chicago and rejoice in the masterpieces of their own beautiful country displayed among strangers. The Emperor of Germany has given orders for splendid carpets and rugs which are woven in the jails of India by convicts who chant antiphonally the directions for inserting the coloured threads in the fine fabrics woven on simple looms. What a touching lesson of human solidarity was this I saw, a stranger and wanderer in this wonderful land of ancient culture. May we not hope that the discipline of Art in the sad precincts of prisons, where convicts provide adornments for palaces of the West, will help

them into a higher life? For experience has taught that occupation with æsthetic creative work is a real help to conquer the selfish and animal impulses of men; and a craft which is learned in prison may be organized with private capital outside and made to give honest support to artistic weavers in villages and towns.

From art to sympathy and fellowship, another fundamental element of human welfare, there is no great distance. David Livingstone traversed the deadly jungles of the Dark Continent of Africa that he might expose and offer prospect of healing the sore of slavery in that unhappy and benighted region where for over four thousand years our brother men have stagnated and suffered, remaining close to the border of animal existence, awaiting the magic touch of civilization from without and from higher races. Within the modern nations themselves fellowship is breaking down barriers, not by leveling the favoured downward but by "lifting up the manhood of the poor." Once the blinded partisans of sects persecuted each other or wasted life in bitter and fruitless controversies over doctrines; now the various groups vie with each other in doing good to the unfortunate.

In sympathy and fellowship grows the root of human morality. Indeed morality has come to mean just the disposition of heart and the habitual conduct which tend to further the best life for all men. That is moral which helps men physically, economically and spiritually; that is immoral conduct which debases, impoverishes, afflicts human beings. Morality is not something isolated, but rather the harmony of all the normal impulses and interests of mankind.

Religion is the last and highest of the elements of social welfare. In all ages and lands men have felt that even humanity and this visible world about us are somehow related to superior power and wisdom. The expressions of this feeling have often been imperfect and even horrible. The religious life, like all other impulses,

requires for its purification a constant exercise of the critical faculties. It has been said that "ignorance is the mother of devotion ;" but ignorance is rather mother of superstition which is the counterfeit and mask of faith. Throughout the civilized world educated people who remain reverent in the presence of the Infinite are seeking to sift out the chaff from the wheat and retain the good. They are not content with thinking of God as the Absolute, the All, the Infinite, the Omnipotent, the Eternal ; for these cold abstractions have no ethical or personal content, no genuine purifying power. Even men like Herbert Spencer, who call the ultimate reality the unknowable and refrain from framing any creed, still insist that out of the mystery of the inscrutable forces of the universe comes a moral imperative, "a something, not ourselves which makes for righteousness." By these practical endeavours for curing evils these reverent agnostics unconsciously express a deep belief in redemption, in mercy, in philanthropy which is nearly akin to the Christian faith in its essence.. Bald atheism is no longer fashionable among free thinkers ; it accounts for nothing ; it leads to nothing ; it fits not the earnest mood. The sevenfold Ideal analyzed above is the spring of our social policies. The civilized world is organizing itself to realize Truth, Beauty and Goodness in the life of men. Sociology, the science which grew out of economics, politics, ethics and philosophy of history under the leadership of Vico, Comte, Herbert Spencer and A. Schaffle, with hints from Plato, Aristotle and Augustine, certainly deserves credit for having compelled recognition of social interests higher than Wealth or Health. After a struggle with misunderstanding, apathy and contempt sociology has been admitted to citizenship in the Republic of Letters. Its essential demand is that no one human interest should be studied to the neglect of others. It affirms that too exclusive attention to political economy gives studious youth an early bias to materialism and so increase the weight of the fetters of commercialism. It calls upon

educators the world over to show their pupils the harmonious relations of all forms of knowledge ; to breed in their minds a care for all the factors of human character in its perfection ; and to induce them to engage in active service of the humblest of their fellowmen.

The specific problems of social science and of the practical arts built on knowledge arise out of the struggle to realize common aims. A struggle is made necessary to achievement because of such obstacles as the parsimony of Nature, the ignorance of men, the clash of particular class interests with general welfare, racial misunderstandings and hostility, the reluctance of the ruling class to yield places of hereditary privilege and to earn their honours by personal service to their country.

A few specific examples of problems are all that can here be given. Charity is an old custom in many lands ; no country has a monopoly of sympathy ; the problem of the present day is to make benevolence beneficent, to train kind feelings to work in the harness of science. This requires modern charity organizations whose essential principles may be summarized under the phrases diagnosis, co-operation, records, restoration of the educable to self-support and self-respect, increased efficiency of the parasitic and elimination of decadent stocks by segregation of the incurable in celibate colonies under the rule of eugenic ideas.

New developments in the modern treatment of delinquents are the probation and parole systems, the juvenile courts, and the policies of prevention of crime by normal satisfactions to displace anti-social ways of enjoyment.

The realm of what Germans call "social politics," as distinguished from party politics, covers such methods as those advocated by the three international associations for the legal protection of working men against accident and disease ; for social insurance against loss of income from sickness, accident, old age, invalidism and death of the breadwinner, and for the combat with unemployment by

means of labour exchanges, wiser adjustment of contracts and enterprizes, training in special skill, vocational guidance and insurance.\*

Of late, social students have given more attention than formerly to "rural sociology," to the peculiar problems of health, economic wellbeing and culture among populations who live by agriculture. In India the co-operative banks, which originated with Raiffeisen in Germany and were developed in Italy by Luzzatti, have shown themselves useful under very different conditions from those of the country of their birth. The various governments, supplemented by private capital, have established scientific laboratories of research, experiment stations, colleges, rural schools of agriculture, short courses in the arts of dairying, horticulture and stock-raising, and demonstration work to improve the methods of farmers who cannot attend school.

In all these movements and many more which mark advance, the rapid emancipation of educated women from the trammels of uncritical tradition has brought a new and splendid moral force to the advance of enlightenment and philanthropy. No man has a right, when he helps to give the highest advantages of education to girls and women, to think of it as an act of almsgiving or condescension; he is simply doing a tardy and somewhat grudging act of duty; and it will be a long time before the sad result of neglect can be fully repaired. All the more should chivalrous and enlightened men hasten to help; they will soon discover that the reward will be swift and satisfying; the companions of their lives, the mothers of their children, the primary educators and character-formers of the next generation will repay a thousandfold the expenditures made to enlarge their mental horizon, to give them noble intellectual interests, and to bring them into spiritual relations with leaders of science, art, ethics and religion.

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\* Those who wish to study these problems may correspond with the General Secretary, M. L. Varlez, Conpure, Ghent, Belgium.

The new humanity extends its efforts not only downward to the poor, the oppressed, the delinquent, but outward to mankind. A merely national conscience is slowly but surely expanding into a world conscience, of which the science of international law is the most perfect rational expression. The present situation, in which preparations for war exhaust the resources of peoples and keep alive stupid and unworthy hatreds, must pass away. Evil is evanescent ; goodness and truth alone are permanent. Above all, the kingdoms, empires, republics and "spheres of influence" is the "Kingdom of God," the theme of the parables of Jesus, the object of the universal longing of humanity, the prayer of the devout.

What is to be the direction of social advance in India ? What ought good men here to seek ? The writer, though he has long read of India and now has visited her people and entered into her life, does not feel competent to offer advice or to foretell. But anyone can see that no nation or people can now remain in isolation. The ocean cable annihilates space. The essential needs of all men surely are physical integrity and force, economic means in sufficiency, art, sympathy, friendship, righteousness and religion. Indians are human persons. The particular process, so far as it is modified by national conditions, must ultimately be found. The educated men and women of India, losing nothing of the splendid heritage of their ancient culture, will surely give their daughters the key to the treasures of science and art ; will purify their worship of all that suggests the merely animal, the cruel, the devilish ; will help their brethren of lowest castes to rise in the scale of manhood ; will accept modern methods of medical art and mitigate the diseases which torture and destroy the ignorant and hopeless ; and will join their friends of the West in promoting peace, order, good will, righteousness in all the world.

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## SHAKESPEARE: THE LAST PHASE.

BY NICOL MACNICOL, M. A., D. LITT.

**I** SHALL attempt to treat only of a corner of the continent which is Shakespeare. He is far too big for any of us to get more than a glimpse of him, and our conjectures as to his real personality may very well be no nearer to the truth than were the conjectures as to the appearance of the elephant of the blind men in the famous Indian fable. He is one of those rare human voices through which Nature herself which, as he says, has "so great a gift in taciturnity," once or twice has spoken. Of such a one as he is we can catch at most only a phase of a phase; and his most diligent student will claim to be able to say of him no more than his own soothsayer in Antony and Cleopatra says of that same nature, "In his infinite book of secrecy a little I can read."

It startles one to realize how little that is authentic is known of his life. We have more certainty as to the exact spot where Buddha was born 2,500 years ago than as to the exact spot where Shakespeare was born less than 350 years ago. It is fitting that the highest summits should be mist-concealed. Some people could find nothing to interest them in him, I dare say, if they had not some problem about his private life to occupy them,—some "congenial thistles" upon which to browse. But neither in his Sonnets nor by means of any cipher, we may be sure, has Shakespeare "unlocked his heart." We can best surmise what he was by the great series of his dramas behind which he looms shadowy and supreme.

It has sometimes been maintained by students who have watched the development of the human spirit in history that it passes, broadly speaking, through three stages of intellectual and moral growth. The first stage in this



evolution is that in which man looks outward and knows himself as an object among other objects. He rejoices in this "brave, new world that has such creatures in't." The shadow of himself has not yet darkened his consciousness. The second stage comes with the discovery of an inner world, deep and shadowy and mysterious. The interest of life in this stage is predominantly moral; man's own soul becomes "his kingdom," and if hopes kindle within him it is still more true that dark fears haunt him. Finally, the third stage of consciousness discloses itself when the world without and the world within are reconciled and the discords are taken up into a higher and a satisfying harmony. That in broad outline furnishes a formula—as far as it can be summed up in any formula—of the world's movement, and it is remarkable, but it is no mere fancy, that this world spirit, this microcosm, Shakespeare, illustrates in his own mental growth these three stages of development. In his earliest period his plays are mainly historical and they are mainly comedies. His interest is in outward things, in the humours and in the vicissitudes of the complex life of men. Shakespeare was far too great a man to be content at any time with the surface of reality, but comparatively with the works that follow those of this group may be termed objective. Then comes his great tragic period. There is a whole commentary on human life in the fact that tragic and subjective are so closely linked in one experience. Shakespeare's spirit, when he wrote Hamlet and King Lear, was sorely burdened. We are confident that this was the case, for, dramatist as he was, he must have felt what he expressed with such tremendous power. In one after another of the plays of this period we see the conflict becoming more and more deeply inward, until in the very overwhelming character of the catastrophe of the spirit a discovery of peace and reconciliation begins to dawn. The third and final period is that in which there is this sense of victory and calm, of reconciliation beyond the strife. Its worthiest expression is the Tempest which

closes with its sweet, unearthly music the great human tragic-comedy that in these dramas Shakespeare has set before us.

It is the last of these three phases of his genius as well as the transition from the second phase to the last that I propose to examine here. The plays of this final period that I shall chiefly take into consideration are *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale* and the *Tempest*, but as we can best understand and appreciate the characteristics of these plays, as we can best understand most things, by watching the process by which their spirit comes into being, I shall endeavour to trace their emergence from the darker shadows that envelope the period that precedes them. The play of *Antony and Cleopatra* may be taken as marking the transition. Of course in such a study one has to guard oneself against too easy deductions from the mood of the plays to the mood of their author. His genius is too large and varied, too like what he calls "the multitudinous sea," for us to be able to seize and bind it in any formula or to suppose it to be fully represented in any play or any group of plays. He is always a dramatist and it is not his own soul but always the world in its endless variety and mystery that he creates for us and makes to pass before us. And yet even Shakespeare was bounded in the last resort by his own personality and could not escape its influence. The shadows that fell across his life darkened the world for him and when these shadows lifted the "barren promontory" became a "brave, new world," if not as new as it seemed to *Miranda*, yet built up again from its ruins in the mastery that he had at last attained of his own soul. All that we are entitled to know of the inner man is what the alternate storm and sunshine of his plays as a whole discover. He must, we conclude, have passed through a period of tragic experience: he must have emerged from it into a serener air. More than that we can scarcely affirm with any confidence. We should not adopt towards his private life that attitude of inquisitiveness which he condemns in those who would pry too closely into the mystery of the universe acting, as he

says, "as if they were God's spies." We can only discern dimly the outlines of his doubt, his rebellion and his final emergence into calm. The sequence—Lear, Antony, Prospero, represents a real sequence, we cannot but believe, in the experience of Shakespeare himself, however it may have been mediated, a gradual transmutation of despair, a purgation of the soul's sight, until, seeing things more clearly, he could "still his beating mind" and bear "free and patient thoughts." So much we can affirm, but scarcely more.

The most profound and overwhelming phase of Shakespeare's genius is that which created such forms as Hamlet, Othello, Lear, Macbeth. Each is a witness to the dark and terrible depths in the human soul. Sometimes as we read it seems, especially in Lear, as if despair was about to engulf him. But even in that tremendous play and in Timon of Athens, where a rage implacable against the world seems to reveal itself, where he at times appears moved to herd mankind along with apes and swine—even there, so long as he can show us such forms as those of Cordelia and the faithful Kent in the midst of the treachery and selfishness and hate, we perceive that the world was not yet solely "grey and lampless" to his vision. When silence descends upon the storm of passions and death reconciles Lear and Cordelia, Othello and Desdemona, when to Timon his "long sickness of health and living" begins at last "to mend," we do not feel that nature has conquered spirit, we do not feel that here is the final tragedy of the triumph of unrighteousness. On the contrary the end is escape, deliverance of souls purified by suffering from the discords of a world with which they have never been in tune. "Peace; let him pass," says Kent of the dying Lear, "he hurts him who would upon the rack of this tough world, stretch him out longer." If Shakespeare has at times put in the mouth of one or another of his characters such a pagan doctrine as that "as flies to wanton boys are we to the gods; they kill us for their sport"—that is in no wise the view to which his dramas even at their darkest

hour direct us. This fact emerges more and more distinctly as we advance towards the close of this tragic period. Antony and Cleopatra is not concerned with the loftiest spiritual themes, and yet here we are aware that Shakespeare's confidence is being re-established in the ultimate permanence and preciousness of the great soul. Here, as so often in his dramas, the fatal error is the disharmony of the spiritual nature, an obsession that blinds this Samson to his destruction. The story of the play is, no doubt, familiar to us all. Antony is a prisoner to the charms of Cleopatra, that "serpent of old Nile." To him who was once "the triple pillar of the world, the demi-Atlas of this earth," now "kingdoms are clay" and "the nobleness of life" is to love her and to be loved by her. The summons of peril to the state and of duty calls him to Rome, and at last he breaks his bonds and goes, but the whole theme and tragedy of the play is in the invincible fascination that Cleopatra has laid upon him. He cannot break his chains. However false and fickle she may be, her glamour has made "his will lord of his reason" and he comes ever back and back again to her from every claim of duty and of self-respect until he dies at her feet.

I am dying, Egypt, dying : only  
I here importune death a while until  
Of many thousand kisses the poor last  
I lay upon thy lips.

Antony, like the other heroes of these great tragedies, is a man of heroic mould wrecked by his passions. There is no question but that he is wrecked and yet his fall and the very abandonment of passion for which he flings away an empire reveal his greatness. There are elements in the tragedy of his ruin which deliver it from sordidness and suggest a solution which is at least implicitly ethical. The effect upon our minds is similar in the amazing scene later in the play where Cleopatra follows her lord to the ultimate appeal of death. There is an end to her "infinite variety" and the poison of the asp that she places at her

breast stills the storms. By what we recognize, in spite of so much that has been unworthy in it, as the purifying power of love "royal Egypt, empress," she whose hand had been "the kingly seal and plighter of high hearts," had at last been made

no more but e'en a woman and commanded  
By such poor passions as the maid that milks and does the  
meanest chores.

It is impossible to explain to anyone who fails to realize it, the magic of the words in which Shakespeare expresses the breaking in of peace upon the wild passions on which death lays at last its reconciling hand—

O Eastern Star !  
Peace, peace !  
Dost thou not see my baby at my breast  
That sucks the nurse asleep ?

I have said that Shakespeare speaks with the very voice and lips of Nature herself, Nature whose name to the earthly view (and Shakespeare was always earthly) is that of the last great reconciler, though others from another view may call it God. We see Nature taking to her breast these passionate, wayward children of hers, their great gifts squandered, as it seems, and lost, and yet on that generous breast left at last, "after life's fitful fever," sleeping. We remember the words spoken over the grave of Timon and, fitting them to this case, we say

Vast Nature weeps for aye  
On their low graves, on faults forgiven.

It is this thought that dwells with us when the lights of Antony and Cleopatra's feasts are quenched and "their bright day is done." There is a sense of triumph in their deaths,—not of despair. They have escaped. This lightening of the gloom of which we are still more conscious in the succeeding tragedy of Coriolanus points us forward to the final phase of Shakespeare's genius which could rejoice once more in the sunlight and the green woods in Cymbeline and Winter's Tale and which could even at last attain the equanimity of Prospero.

There seems reason to believe that these last plays were written after Shakespeare's retirement from London to his native town. The spirit of the sweet country air is in them. Towards the end of his days Shakespeare seems, like his own great creation, Falstaff, to have turned back to the healing simplicity of Nature. "A babbled of green fields." He found

the sharded beetle in a safer hold  
Than is the full-winged eagle.

One cannot fail to note his engagement in these later plays with the sights and sounds of country places and of country people; how the flowers have won his heart and he knows and notes "the crimson spot i' the bottom of a cowslip," how he feels

the zephyrs blowing below the violet  
Not wagging his sweet head,

"the azure harebell," "the leaf of eglantine." One of the most familiar passages in these last plays is of course the description of the flowers in the Winter's Tale :

Daffodils

That come before the swallow dares and take  
The winds of March with beauty; violets dim  
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes  
Or Cytherea's breath; pale primroses,  
That die unmarried ere they can behold  
Bright Phoebus in his strength.

His sense of disengagement and escape speaks unmistakeably throughout these plays and especially in the quiet triumph of the famous song in Cymbeline :

Fear no more the heat o' the sun  
Nor the furious winter's rages;  
Thou thy worldly task hast done,  
• Home art gone and ta'en thy wages.

Fear no more the frown o' the great,  
Thou art past the tyrant's stroke;  
Care no more to clothe and eat;  
To thee the reed is as the oak.

One could illustrate from nearly every page of all these plays this feeling of freshness and of health that sweeps through them like the wind on the heath, this sense of what he calls "the benediction of the covering heavens." It is that which is the differentia, as it seems to me, of this last phase of Shakespeare's genius. We might almost go the length of saying that now Nature and the children of Nature take the first place in his interest and engage him most. He has turned away from the dark and complex human lives whose problems before so completely absorbed him. We see him in the *Tempest*, become wise enough to watch with a comprehending tenderness in Ferdinand and Miranda the hope and clean simplicity of youth. The shadows of the end are closing upon his own life but he can say with Ferdinand as he looks into Miranda's innocent eyes

'tis fresh morning with me  
When you are by at night.

The simplicities of life and nature are supremely represented in Imogen, the most perfectly and most simply loving of his women, in Perdita, "the queen of curds and cream," and in Miranda the very incarnation of the world's youth and of its sweet surprise.

It is true that as a consequence the effect of these plays is far from being as impressive as is that of the tragedies that precede them. Nature is not so near to us as man, and the harmonies of things do not stir and move us so deeply or with such painful power as their discords. Prospero may be a greater personality than Othello, more balanced, more strong; Imogen may be of a more gracious beauty than Cleopatra, but the storms that wrap these others give them a more moving interest for us. And yet we remember that the gods approve "the depth and not the tumult of the soul." There are clear depths in these last plays and in the serener spirits of those whom they present which bear witness in contrast with the violent energy of the tragedies to the happier but no less accomplished insight of their creator.

The central figure in both *Cymbeline* and the *Winter's Tale* is a woman falsely suspected and accused. In each case the jealousy or insufficient faith of the husband is contrasted with the unwavering faith and purity of the wife. Imogen in *Cymbeline* and Hermione in *Winter's Tale* each has a place among the most perfect in Shakespeare's great gallery of fair women. Imogen's love is as passionate as Cleopatra's, though the white flame of its purity has not the glare and splendour that in the other fascinate and amaze. The facile injustice of her husband and his savage purpose of vengeance leave her love undimmed, though the pain goes deep into her heart. Her spirit, —quick, eager and intense, leaps forward to overcome all obstacles and prove her truth. There are no half measures with her. When she learns that her husband has returned from exile, she is off on the instant, facing every hardship to be by his side. And when she reaches him at last, disguised as a boy, and he, realizing his error though not recognizing her, is plunged in despair believing that he has killed her, the scene of reconciliation is characteristic of the ardour of her nature. She flings herself into his arms, but he, thinking that she is a page who is making light of his anguish, strikes her down. But again she is back upon his breast and with foolish words of happiness reveals herself and rebukes him—

Why did you throw your wedded lady from you?  
 Think that you are upon a lock and then  
 Throw me again.

But Posthumus, all the poetry of his nature surging up, as it may in any common man, at the call of his overwhelming sense of deliverance from pain and of recovered joy, answers, as he clasps her to him—

Hang there like fruit, my soul,  
 Till the tree die.

Here we may note a characteristic of Shakespeare and especially of these later plays. He is so much, as I have



said, the very voice and utterance of Nature herself that he is never afraid of placing the simple, the rude, even the grotesque in expression side by side with the most beautiful and profound. His poetry is not of the kind that is made up of fine language and picked phrases. Often the simplest words become compact of the most amazing depth and beauty as used by some character in a great moment of stress. No eloquence of speech could reveal with more poignancy the despair of Posthumus when he realises that he has wronged and, as he thinks, killed, his wife, than does his cry "O Imogen, Imogen, Imogen." What could be more impressive in their simplicity than the repeated words of Antony as he fastens his last gaze on Cleopatra's face, "I am dying, Egypt, dying?" So in the question that Cleopatra, as it is drawing towards the close of her voluptuous day, asks of Enobarbus there echoes the crash of empires and, what is far more terrible, the knell of despairing hearts, "What shall we do, Enobarbus?" No one can ever fathom the depth from which he fetches his reply that seems so simple, "Think and die." At the same time Shakespeare was no less aware that even the greatest moments of life, though they may strike gleams of supreme beauty from the spirit, have also their grotesque aspects and often find expression just as naturally in strange and foolish ways. These are, as he says, "those odds tricks which sorrow shoots out of the mind." The poetry often is in the scenes more than in the words, in the poignant pathos of a figure that stands before us, perhaps uttering not a word, but of whose presence we are intensely aware, or in the joy that is none the less beautiful because here as in Nature its expression is stammering or foolish. No art could be greater or surer than that which presents to us Hermione as she stands almost silent before her husband's jealous rage and altogether silent when she restores herself to him vindicated after long years from his unjust suspicions. "You, my lord," she says, "do but mistake." And yet there is no line lacking in the picture of calm dignity, of

unembittered patience that is presented to us in this noble figure. We know that though she is not prone to weeping she has an honourable grief lodged in her heart "which burns worse than tears drown." Her worth appears to us vividly presented in her husband's long remorse. Her eyes shine to him ever more brightly across the years—

Stars, stars ;  
And all eyes else dead coals.

With what simplicities of means this magician can produce results that are only in the laboratories of Nature. There is no lesson in the mystery of what we call genius that can compare with an examination of the simplicities out of which this master combines the infinite and the eternal—

Out of three sounds he frames  
Not a fourth sound but a star.

There are many things in these plays that one could linger over. There are the pastoral figures and the pastoral pleasures among which Shakespeare himself seems to linger with a peculiar satisfaction. In all his plays even when his faith in humanity seemed to be tottering he could love and trust the common people, not in the mass but as individuals. Even Autolycus, that master rogue, is forgivable, for "the gods connive at him," as he says, "and he may do anything extempore." But with Perdita and the shepherds Shakespeare has returned to the true heart of Nature, the "common mother"

Whose womb immeasurable and infinite breast  
Teems and feeds all.

In such a region Perdita rules by right of natural birth ; "good sooth, she is the queen of curds and cream," until presently the real world breaks in upon this Arcady, as it so often will, and the dream vanishes,—this dream of mine, as she says,

Being now awake, I'll queen it no inch further,  
But milk my ewes and sleep.

Of the *Tempest* what can one say that may convey its elusive charm? We are justified, I think, in viewing it as the euthanasia of Shakespeare's genius. He has found an island of enchantment where he, too, like *Perdita*, awaking from evil dreams, can "milk his ewes and sleep." He seems in this play to release an element in his mind which lifts him above that earth to which he has hitherto so closely clung. I have said that in this last period it seems to be Nature rather than man that is the hero of his plays; and that is not less the case in the *Tempest*, but there Nature is so transfused with spirit; it is so tender, so harmonious, so healing that we need scarcely hesitate to call it God. It is by the whole atmosphere of the play and by the personality of *Prospero* that this impression is created. I need not remind you of Shakespeare's subtle skill in creating an atmosphere which broods upon the pages of his plays and lays the influence of its fear and of its hope upon the reader. *Macbeth* is his supreme triumph in the creation of a sense of horror that haunts us like a nightmare. The knocking upon midnight doors, voices crying out of the dark, the sudden galloping of horses startling the silence, the muttering of hags, the raven upon the battlements, with what skill he marshals these hints of terror and impending ill until we shiver with a responsive fear. In *Antony and Cleopatra* the tragedy of passion has its setting in the darkness also, but it is a darkness lighted by the glare of festal torches. The revellers hold "black vesper's pageant," but soon their lights are out. The "fleeing moon," *Cleopatra's* planet, sets. "The bright day is done, and we are towards the dark." In the *Tempest*, if drowsiness is a "quality o' the climate," this sleep is a "comforter," as is also the music that creeps upon the waters and breathes upon the air. These are the influences of this enchanted island, bringing surcease to sorrow, allaying anger and passion with their sweetness. Even *Caliban* is aware of them.

The isle is full of noises,  
Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.  
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments  
Will hum about mine ears ; and sometimes voices  
That, if I then had waked out of long sleep,  
Will make me sleep again : and then, in dreaming  
The clouds, methought, would open and show riches  
Ready to drop upon me ; that when I waked  
I cried to dream again.

From this harbour of peace the past pain can be viewed with equanimity or, if evil breaks in upon it, yet the mind that has obtained the mastery of itself can conquer evil, can even conquer with the splendid strength that is able to forgive. To Prospero in whom the spirit of this island is incarnated, things that lurk "in the dark background and abyss of time," are now a memory that has become remote and aloof. Like the bones of the dead whom the storm has drowned the past

doth suffer a sea-change  
Into something rich and strange.

The sweetness and clearness of the island, the sense of freedom and escape that is everywhere upon it, the charm and hope of youth, the wisdom tainted with no cynicism—these things surely indicate not only a dramatic situation that Shakespeare conceived but a haven to which his spirit had put in and where it could turl its sails. It is scarcely necessary that I should remind you of the story of the play. Prospero, duke of Milan, betrayed by his treacherous brother and driven from his dukedom lives with his daughter Miranda in a lonely island where his wise arts have brought into his service Ariel, a fairy, and a strange monster, Caliban. By his magic skill and the help of the fairy he brings to the island his usurping brother and the king of Naples as well as the king's son. Miranda and the king's son fall in love with each other. Prospero, setting his spirits free and surrendering his mysterious powers, forgives his brother and prepares to return with him to

Milan and his dukedom. Forgiveness and reconciliation, which we saw to be a healing presence in the background of Antony and Cleopatra and to be fully manifest in Cymbeline and Winter's Tale, here reigns supreme.

There seem two motives that combine and alternate in the making of this magnanimity and we may venture to maintain that they combined to produce not only Prospero but the final mood of Shakespeare himself as here he quit the stage. On the one hand there is a sense of the unreality of things. Sebastian and Antonio, the villains of the play, plotting for a kingdom and ready for murder,—they and their crimes and ambitions are a dream, a hideous nightmare ; they are, as Sebastian himself says,

asleep

With eyes wide open : standing, speaking, moving,  
And yet so fast asleep.

We are such stuff

As dreams are made on : and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep.

That is Prospero's great summary of life with all its struggles and its triumphs. The presence even in his island of tranquillity of the bestiality of Caliban and the ingratitude and treachery of the others—representatives of the world's evil—wakes in Prospero the old passions, but the thought of the vanity of it all helps him to "still his beating mind." This is the same source of calm—one only negatively ethical or religious—as the tragedies implicitly present,—the thought of the period of time, of the escape of death. There are, as Posthumus says to the gaolers in Cymbeline, "no bolts for the dead."

That is one aspect of things which always seems to have opened for Shakespeare a door of escape from despair. This world of evil and of waste, it implies, is not the final reality. But we see in the Tempest another and a more truly ethical, or, we may even say, religious conception coming to the aid of human weakness and

enabling it to forgive. In Prospero under the blessed influences that brood upon this island there has awakened what he terms a "nobler reason" that takes part against his fury.

The rarer action is,—he has discovered,  
In virtue than in vengeance ; they being penitent  
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend  
Not a frown further.

He blots out the past. When Alonzo suggests that he must beg forgiveness of his own child, as Miranda now is, for the wrong that he has done her, Prospero interposes—

There, sir, stop :  
Let us not burden our remembrances with  
A heaviness that's gone.

If Shakespeare had a sacred place, a shrine, somewhere hidden in the wide spaces of his spirit—and he was surely a man who felt too keenly and who saw too deeply not to have had such a place—he has not unlocked its door to us. He keeps its key. At the same time we see him here, I think, in the person of Prospero "catch at God's skirts." In the last words that he speaks in this play Prospero—who has been almost universally identified, as none other of his characters can be identified, with Shakespeare himself—betrays a sense that in rising to the magnanimity of forgiveness he is conscious that he himself needs to be forgiven. He betrays his consciousness that he too no less than Antonio and Alonzo must be a suppliant and seek relief by prayer,—prayer, as he says,

Which pierces so that it assaults  
Mercy itself and frees all faults.

If the *Tempest* represents, as I have said, the euthanasia of Shakespeare's genius, we find him here—and leave him—in an attitude not unworthy even of a genius so supreme.

I have attempted to set forth, as I said at the beginning, only a phase of a phase of Shakespeare's immense variety. No other poet leaves one after a period of study with such a sense of one's incompetence as Shakespeare does. One becomes painfully aware of the truth of Emerson's remark in regard to him :—“ A good reader can in a sort nestle into Plato's brain and think from thence ; but not into Shakespeare's. We are still out of doors.”

NICOL MACNICOL.

*Poona.*

# THE LIFE OF A MEMSAHIB IN THE MUFASSAL.

BY MRS. T. STEWART MACPHERSON, M.A.

TO the Briton in India the words "Calcutta and the Mufassal" convey much the same signification relatively as "London and the Provinces." True, in strict parlance, one ought now to say "Delhi and the Mufassal" but many years are bound to pass before these words become a familiar phrase connoting the same ideas. The word "Mufassal," however, has further use—each Province has its Capital and its Mufassal, each Division has its Divisional headquarters and its Mufassal, even each District has its District headquarters and its Mufassal. Mufassal is therefore a relative term, *e.g.*, Hooghly is Mufassal with reference to Calcutta, but with reference to the Burdwan Division and to the Hooghly District, it rises to the dignity of a headquarters station as opposed to Mufassal. The Mufassal in which my experience has lain has been entirely away from Calcutta and chiefly within the province of Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa.

In the Mufassal there are two kinds of *memsahibs*—the permanent residents and the fleeting official population. "Permanent residents" is a comparative term and is used to designate wives of planters, wives of those who have to do with mines, mills, estates, missionaries and members of "country families," *i.e.*, families long settled in certain districts and possessing often very considerable landed estates. Such *memsahibs*, by reason of their permanence, can, and do, make themselves exceedingly comfortable. Their houses are real homes. Their gardens, trim and well-cared for, are rich in flowers and produce every possible vegetable and fruit. Their poultry-yards, stables and kennels are justly the pride of their owners.



Far different is the position of the wife of the official. During many years of her husband's service, she lives in daily dread of the arrival of a long envelope marked "Appointments Department" and containing orders of transfer, maybe to a station hundreds of miles distant. It is impossible for her to give to her house and compound that air of settled comfort which marks the permanent resident. She contents herself with endeavouring to make as attractive as possible the barest necessities of life.

It was on a day of torrential rain in July that I arrived at my first Indian station.

The Collector hospitably welcomed us and my earliest impression was a vague one of the great power exercised by him over the hundreds of thousands in his jurisdiction. After three days we took possession of our first home in India. It was a tiny bungalow, with no garden, standing on a wide maidan between the Judge's and Doctor's houses. The etiquette of the Mufassal is that the incoming officer takes over his predecessor's furniture. We followed the usual rule and found ourselves the owners of the minimum of furniture of the simplest kind—a few tables of sisum wood, half-a-dozen office chairs, a few cane chairs, two nawar beds, two mirrors and three tea-pots. The floors were covered with coarse bamboo matting—there were no carpets,—but fresh curtains, a few pictures, bric-à-brac, and our books invested this Arcadian simplicity with charm. Those accustomed to the mahogany and oak furniture and the rich Persian and Turkish carpets of luxurious Calcutta will hardly be able to realize such simplicity, yet it is almost invariable in the homes of young Government officers.

There were five other *memsahibs* in the station, but within a short time after my arrival all but one departed to the hills. The Joint Magistrate had heavy work. From 7 to 10 a.m. he worked in the bungalow. At 10-30 he went to Court and he rarely returned home before 6 p.m. The servants vanished shortly

after breakfast and, till about 4 p.m., the house was absolutely deserted except for a diminutive punkah-wallah, a boy who was troubled with an abnormal thirst which necessitated frequent slaking, and, incidentally, a rest from punkah pulling. As I had to rely on my own resources for running the house, it was fortunate that my husband had taught me a little Hindustani before I left home. Daily orders to the servants I carefully prepared beforehand and I endeavoured to extend my knowledge by the regular study of manuals and dictionaries. As I had little opportunity of hearing the language it was some time before I could understand any but brief spoken sentences.

Every evening the whole station assembled at the Club. No doubt visions of the stately Bengal and United Service Clubs and the well-appointed Saturday Club rise before the eyes of the Calcuttaite. Very different was the modest three-roomed tiled bungalow dignified by the name of the Station Club, but it was a pleasant *rendezvous* for husbands, wives and children. There the news of the day was discussed and some home papers were available. There tennis, bridge or billiards could be enjoyed. As there was a nine hole golf course in the Collector's compound, a variety of amusements was possible when work permitted. In the palmy days of indigo the station had been a large and gay one and polo had been a regular weekly pastime. On the Monthly District Board Meeting Days, when the few remaining planters came into the headquarters, it might still be enjoyed occasionally, but, as a rule, it was a gala day when there was a men's four for either tennis or bridge.

The station church was a regulation red-brick Government building. Once a month the *padre* visited us, on the other Sundays the Judge read the Service. We arrived from Bombay on a Sunday when the Judge was taking the Service. On the following Friday he asked me if I would play the organ on the Sunday as the *padre* was due and the lady who usually played had gone to the

hills. I consented with much trepidation for I did not know the Anglican Service at all and dreaded the unaccustomed chants. On the Saturday evening at the Club the ladies selected the hymns. Unfortunately two of the three had alternative tunes. In each case I chose the familiar Scottish tune, and, to my horror, found that I had not only to play but to sing them as solos! The tribulations of that Service were many. That the chants had to be played unannounced was a source of anxiety. The first chord of the Magnificat was sounded too soon and the organist received a stern look from the *padre*! Since then I have played the organ for and taken part in the Church Service many times and have grown to love it dearly. Mufassalites have reason to be deeply grateful to the Church of England for the opportunities she gives them of public worship.

Catering is a constant source of concern to the Mufassal *memsahibs*. In most stations beef is unknown and even mutton is often not available; away from the banks of the Ganges, there are few stations where fish can be obtained regularly. As a rule, from February till June fish must be looked on with suspicion. There is left only the never-failing *murghi* and one is reduced to ringing changes on *murghi* boil, *murghi ros*, *murghi cutlis*! The anxiety occasioned by a dinner party, still more by the entertainment of guests accustomed to the luxuries of Calcutta, may be imagined. A District headquarters station generally owns a "Mutton Club." The club consists of five members and possesses two or three score sheep which are grass-fed for two months and gram-fed for two months more. Twice a week a sheep is killed and divided among the five members, the various portions going by rotation to each. If one is fortunate enough to be member of such a club, at least twice a week a good joint is assured. But there are many stations where no such club exists. My worst experience of the food difficulty was when my husband was Settlement Officer of a jungly district.

There the aborigines believe that milk was bestowed for sole benefit of the calves and do not even milk their cows. In so primitive a place it will be readily understood that, besides the perennial *murghi*, only jungle produce, *e.g.*, jungle fowl and green pigeon, was available and occasionally even the supply of *murghi* failed. I well remember one morning's experience in a forest hut in the heart of the jungle. Our larder was absolutely empty and the cook told me there was not even a chicken for dinner. Two aborigines suddenly appeared, and to my great relief one of them produced a basket of the scraggiest, most miserable-looking fowls imaginable but they were welcome in our famine-stricken condition. I gathered that he wished to sell them, but neither I nor the servants could understand his tribal language, nor could he understand anything they or I could say. A bag of pice was brought out and in them a common language was found. He lifted a noisy, protesting fowl from his basket and laid it on the verandah. I placed sixteen pice beside it. He laughed and shook his head, so I put down two pice more. Again he laughed more cheerily than before and made some jocular remark to his friend. Then he picked up the pice, keeping six for himself, he handed me back twelve and made over the chicken to the cook. This process was continued till I had bought his whole stock for an extremely small sum. No *memsahib* will be surprised to learn that after this first experience I never saw a poultry dealer. He always came before dawn or when I was arranging my toilet ! Such possibilities of gain were too seductive for any servants and as they also were suffering considerable hardship in that jungle I made no remonstrance.

In Calcutta the *memsahib* has all the varied interests of life that a city can afford. There is a large European community from which to draw her circle of friends, entertainments and recreations of many kinds, social pleasures, good libraries and interesting shops. It is hard for her to imagine herself settled in a station with a limited European

community—twelve families make a large station—and it is quite possible to be in a station where there is no other European family. Often there is no library, and shops in the European sense are non-existent. It therefore behoves the Mufassal *memsahib* to be self-reliant, to have infinite resources and interests within herself. Husband, children are all in all to her, but, cut off as she is from her white sisters, she cannot but be brought into close touch with the great Indian community around her. In those remote places the *sahib* is indeed the *mabap* of the people, and to the *memsahib* too the Indians come, confident that she also has their interest at heart. To an infinite number I have been *mama* since I landed in India and many are the interesting experiences I have had. I often regret that I cannot get to know the Indian ladies better. In Calcutta the shelter and etiquette of the *purdah* are being largely discarded but in the Mufassal the *purdah* is by no means a mere *facon de parler*. Ladies do not visit even among themselves, they see only their blood-relations and it would be considered a presumptuous intrusion on the part of any *memsahib* if she were to call on them without a special invitation. Such invitations I have been honoured with and it has been a pleasure to accept them. One of these visits had so interesting and unforeseen a result that I must narrate it. On one occasion we were camping near a Thakur's *garh* or baronial mansion. On the evening of our arrival the Thakur and his son, a fragile looking boy of about four, resplendent in a suit of royal blue plush heavily trimmed with gold, paid a ceremonial visit to my husband. The little scion of an ancient house was the only child of the Thakur and the son of the fourth wife. A few days later I was invited to visit his *zenana* with my children. The appointed time found us at the palace gate where the Thakur and his son received us and led us through his office—a modern room with a typewriter, a full-plate camera and a variety of very fine weapons of the chase, varying from a Winchester repeater to a boar spear—along a maze of passages and across two courtyards. On the

verandah of the third court beautiful Persian and Mirzapur rugs were spread and exquisite Kashmir *chadars* draped the chairs placed for us. Standing to receive us was the Thakur's mother in the plain unadorned *sari* of a widow. During the Mutiny the feudal chief of the house rebelled, but she was nobly loyal to the British and bravely sheltered some British officers, thereby securing for her son the hereditary title of Thakur. The Thakur introduced us and withdrew. Then the courtyard quickly filled with female servants, dependants and children, and on to the verandah came the four wives each outrivalling the other in the splendour of her dress. They sat on the rugs, the mother of the boy nearest me. Conversation was somewhat difficult. Only one lady spoke Hindustani—the only language I could command, the others spoke Oriya and local dialects. My ayah helped greatly by interpreting into a dialect which all seemed to know, still I was concerned about the success of the visit. Meantime the children made friends with the little heir and ayah suggested that one of my sons who wore full Highland costume should dance. The little fellow danced Highland dances with the pure delight and *abandon* of a child. The success of the afternoon was assured, tongues were loosed, an air of friendliness prevailed and we were asked to repeat the visit. The sequel is rather amusing. Some five years later I met the manager of the Thakur's forests who told me that my son had made such an impression that forthwith the Thakur had ordered Highland costume for his son, and now on ceremonial occasions the boy accompanies his father in all the glory of full Highland dress, kilt, sporran, dirk, velvet coat, and silver buttons complete.

I have had the pleasure of dining in a Brahman Rani's house—I cannot say of dining with her for she and her friends sat by the wall and watched us enjoy the feast she had prepared. We thought we had done ample justice to it, but she assured us that had we been Brahman ladies we should have left nothing to betray the late contents of

the many dishes. I have also visited Muhammadan and Bengali ladies in their homes—but such opportunities occur only rarely.

Pardah schools and pardah hospitals offer opportunities for making the acquaintance of native ladies which the strict etiquette of the zenana denies. In Bengal one is amazed to find Brahman girls in a school taught by a pundit. Such a thing is unthinkable up-country where girls of much lower caste are strictly pardah. I was particularly interested in one pardah school. On my first visit my husband accompanied me. We were received with great *empressement* by the committee on a verandah where my husband was given a chair while I was conducted through what seemed endless passages to a thick pardah. Outside this my guide, who was the brother of the widowed head mistress, stopped and knocked. The head mistress drew me within the pardah and my guide vanished. I found myself in a large room filled with beautifully dressed high-caste girls of all stages. Some were married, some were betrothed, many were busily embroidering jackets and *saris* for their trousseau and all looked bright and attractive. On the occasion of a prize distribution in this same school, I had the unique pleasure of listening to an eloquent speech in the purest Hindi by a charming Rajput lady of about nineteen years of age. She knew not a word of English but with persuasive enthusiasm she urged upon her young sisters the necessity of education, so that with wide interests and wise judgment they might become worthy mothers of worthy sons of India.

The Lady Dufferin Zenana hospitals supply a much-felt want in the mufassal. There, pardah is strictly observed and admission as an inpatient is secured only on presentation of certificates of respectability and high caste from two independent Members of the Managing Committee. The early struggle of these hospitals against the prejudice of the high-born lady to leave her home is fascinating history, and naturally much of their success depends

on the tact and skill of the lady doctor in charge. The story of one in which I was specially interested is probably typical. The well-equipped new building was put in charge of a competent lady doctor. Months passed during which the out-patient department gradually acquired a reputation which brought patients from far and near, but the wards remained empty. No lady of sufficient courage to leave her home and be nursed in the hospital had yet been found, though by her practice in the town the lady doctor had become known and confidence in her and in her methods had steadily grown. At last the opportunity came. A Brahman pilgrim from the North-West became seriously ill. No privacy or comfort could be had in the dharmshala and she was removed to the hospital. It was a critical case and was watched over by the doctor with more than usual anxiety for well she knew that the future of her hospital depended on a favourable issue. To her infinite relief, she was able in a few weeks to discharge her patient completely cured. The success of the hospital was assured. Twice over the wards have had to be enlarged and not only is there rarely a vacant bed there but even the cottage wards where three rupees a day is charged are constantly full. So unaccustomed were the patients to see strangers that sometimes they required some persuasion to admit me, and often my passports was not so much that I was the Collector's wife as that I was the mother of sons, one found invariably, however, that those who had been most chary of receiving one were those to whom the visit seemed to give most satisfaction and they rarely allowed one to leave without pressing cordial requests that it might be repeated.

From the above it may easily be understood that opportunities for getting to know Indian ladies are comparatively few, but the friendly intercourse that my husband has with Indian gentlemen of position has brought many of them across my path and I am proud to reckon among my friends Indian Christians, Muhammadans and Hindus, —courteous and cultured men with whom it is a pleasure to



converse. From others of lesser education and standing whom often I hardly know, delightful notes are occasionally received in which I am addressed as "Adored Mama" or "Respectable Madam." A few exquisite rosebuds were once sent to me with the following note: "Revered Madam, Filial piety and devotion incessantly tend my heart to thy homage, so these fragrant flower buds are most humbly strewn before thee as token of worship by your most obedient servant."

In conversation with these Indian friends pathetic glimpses of their difficulties are sometimes obtained. One high caste man once spoke of his family which consisted of three sons and eight daughters. "Ah Sir," he said, "my God has been very terrible to me in matter of daughters." In marrying three of them he had expended all his hard-earned savings. Every month he deposited one hundred rupees in the Savings Bank towards the marriage fund, but, he cried, "I do not think I shall live to marry the other five." A husband could not be secured for less than three thousand rupees—a large sum to a man with a modest salary. Apparently the young men utilize the marriage dowries to finance their college career and the bitter disappointment, not only to himself and his own family, but to his little bride's family, when a student fails to pass an examination may well be imagined. To a suggestion that he should send his daughters to college and make them either doctors or teachers our friend made the pitiful reply "Sir, our young men are of bad character. We cannot send a respectable girl to college." Perhaps the time is not yet. One is reminded of the experience of a planter on his return to his factory from headquarters where he had just become the proud father of his firstborn—a daughter. He was met by a doleful looking group of his office babus. On his enquiring as to the cause of their dejection the senior babu came forward and with a pitying look of commiseration said "Sir, it is the will of God." Such were the congratulations that were showered on the delighted parent.

But no generalizations are wholly true even for one province, far less for all India. Among the lower castes the case is different. A daughter is a valuable asset and the would-be bridegroom has often to pay a considerable price for her.

Among the aborigines this price is so high that girls are rarely married before the age of seventeen or eighteen and, as *purdah* is unknown, the father of good-looking daughters has a fair chance to enrich himself in land and cattle. Aboriginal converts once tried to find out from a missionary friend what he had paid for his wife. He allowed them to guess. Suggestions of cattle, horses, even land, were all met by a vigorous shake of the head. There was silence for a time then came the awed suggestion "Had you to give a hathi?" Imagination could carry them no farther. A wife worth an elephant! Occasionally one is invited to an entertainment in honour of some local magnate—a bioscope show, a nautch, or merely an opportunity for expressing mutual admiration. If the entertainment be in one's own honour it is somewhat trying. "Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest" is well observed in many hospitable stations. On one occasion a great show was organized to speed us *en route* for home. We were driven in a highly decorated coach-and-four to and from the hall where we were entertained to a bioscope show, and, later, fireworks. Even that did not exhaust the enthusiasm of the community. On the night of our departure the station was filled with a gaily dressed crowd through which it was hard to make our way to the train. My husband and I were so loaded with a multitude of garlands that our necks ached for hours afterwards. The children too were all garlanded, even my seven-month old son was gay with flowers and tinsel. The official does not work for or expect gratitude or popularity. If they come, good and well. And if those whose interests he is earnestly trying to farther, show themselves friendly and sympathetic, he undoubtedly gains inspiration and help in his daily toil.

The wife of an Executive Officer spends most of the cold weather in camp.

In large districts one hundred and twenty days in the year and in small districts ninety days must be devoted to touring. In Lower Bengal where the swampy ground makes tenting for the most part impossible, touring may be done by launch or from Inspection Bungalow to Inspection Bungalow. In many places these consist of only one centre room which has to serve as both dining room and bedroom and often, when the beds are pushed against the walls, there is barely room to walk round the dining table. Such camping, however interesting the people and the country may be, means rank discomfort and scant privacy for the *memsahib*. When, however, tents can be utilized as in Bihar and other dry regions the touring season is wholly delightful. The weather is perfect. The days are not too warm and mornings and evenings are crisp and cold and bracing. Near many villages stands a mango-grove in the leafy shade of which the tents are pitched. If the *sahib* is a bachelor, he may carry a court tent; if he is travelling with his family, the tent will probably be required for them and his court will be held under a great mango tree in the open air. If he is trying "tories" in Chota Nagpur, a *mandua* made of intertwined branches may be constructed for him. The Swiss Cottage tents are pitched by the orderlies. They are floored with straw and carpeted with *durries*. The simple camp furniture is arranged. Primitive fireplaces are built of clay on which *gharas* of water may be boiled. Two square holes are dug for the cook, over which he places iron grids, and on this simple stove he will cook an excellent dinner of many courses. The custom of the country was to provide fodder and fuel, *gharas* and perhaps other things, free, but the modern officer is exceedingly conscientious in making full—often excessive—payment for all his supplies, though he has frequently to confess, that despite his endeavours, the money may not reach the proper hands. A local

bania sets up shop at the camp and is prepared to sell his rice and dal, etc., to litigants and servants.

A camp on a *sahib's* arrival is an animated scene. Servants, orderlies and court clerks await him. There is a crowd of litigants with their witnesses and interested friends. Chaukidars and Police are in evidence and the neighbouring villagers, unwilling to lose any *tamasha*, swell the throng.

From camp to camp is anything from ten to twenty miles and from each camp as centre the *sahib* visits all the villages within a wide radius, making himself thoroughly acquainted with the special conditions of his jurisdiction. All schools, dispensaries, pounds, thanas and excise shops are inspected and the benefits of education are impressed on the somewhat sceptical village fathers. The condition of the roads calls for consideration and bridges, waterways and the vagaries of rivers are examined. Local cases are investigated and tried and all manner of disputes and grievances are adjusted. The local tyrant who has been harassing his *raiyls* with petty exactions, false suits, or forged documents is discovered. Local personages are received and many of them have business of interest to discuss. Altogether the short beautiful winter days speed only too quickly to their close.

Much of the walking and riding on inspection the *memsahib* can do with her husband. As practically everyone one passes on the road is hailed and engaged in conversation, this always offers much both of interest and fascination. Well I remember one evening walk. A widow had complained that her hereditary enemy had cut a large portion of her crop which she averred lay "about a mile" from our camp. As it was so near, the *sahib* said he would himself investigate the damage that evening and we duly set out to visit the field. There was no road, the path lay on the narrow embankment between paddy fields. On and on we walked at a smart, steady pace for one and a half hours. As darkness was falling we reached a village. The headman on being summoned said

that he knew the field but it was "about a mile farther"! We forthwith abandoned the search for that elusive field and turned our attention to supplying the immediate necessity of a lantern, for the night was moonless. The village fathers held a solemn conclave whilst we sat on the outside wall of the temple and at last procured for us the only lantern the village possessed. Filled with treacly oil, it offered a dusky, intermittent light, but we were thankful for it on these narrow embankments. Near the camp we met *chaprasis* with what seemed by comparison, dazzlingly brilliant lanterns and the whole camp was brightly lit up—the servants being much perturbed at our prolonged absence. It was a weary couple who meditated profoundly that night on the villager's elastic sense of distance! How vague it is, only those who have experienced it know. In one district a *kos* is reckoned by the time it takes the cut branch of a tree to wither! In such circumstances it becomes abundantly evident that the length of the mile varies with the seasons.

Sometimes an early morning or an afternoon may be snatched for *shikar*. In some districts duck and teal abound and occasionally, with luck, a deer, a leopard or even a tiger may be bagged.

Our most exciting camping experiences were in Chota Nagpur. There the forest was too dense to admit of pitching tents and we camped from forest hut to forest hut. Moreover, the possible unwelcome visits of tigers or leopards made huts desirable. From hut to hut we made our way as best we could. Sometimes an aboriginal of the forest tribes went ahead wielding his axe to cut a path for my husband's pony, sometimes the children and I rode on a pad elephant who tore off branches to clear his way, sometimes we bumped along on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in a third class carriage swept out for the occasion. Passenger trains are not available at these small stations and two or three third class carriages are attached to the goods trains.

Our *dak* was brought by a peon on foot from the headquarters' station, it might be a four days' journey. No man would dare to traverse these jungles by night and even by day the peons did not care to walk alone.

As practically the only mode of transport was by coolies along jungle paths, it may easily be imagined that a very considerable retinue was required. The only current coin was the pice and we had always to carry with us a considerable quantity of that commodity. Though the forest was full of interest, camping there was exhausting for the *memsahib*, partly because of difficulties of transit and partly because of the constant anxiety about supplies.

No description, however brief, of a *memsahib's* life in the Mufassal would be complete without some mention of the meets which enliven it from time to time. Of these Sonapur is too well known to require description. The Ranchi Puja Meet and Muzaffarpur Meets are also familiar. In addition to these most district headquarters stations have their annual meets. The *raison d'être* is often the necessity for assembling all the volunteers of the district—and every *sahib* is a volunteer—for parades. For four days in the selected station there is a ceaseless whirl of gaieties. The men bring in their wives, sisters and daughters. Every house in the station is filled with guests who overflow into tents in the compound and there is often a subscription camp as well. Parades begin at 6-30 a.m. and between 9 and 10 a.m. the men return, swallow a cup of tea, do a lightning change into tennis flannels and hurry off to the courts where the fair competitors are awaiting them. Breakfast is usually at noon and thereafter most people try to seize forty winks before tennis, cricket, polo or gymkhana begins again at 3 p.m. Scratch concerts and bridge fill the hours of darkness till dinner and after dinner three nights out of four there are dances and on the fourth a concert, theatricals or some similar show. Some men celebrate those days by never condescending to go to bed at all! They leave the dance only in time to go on

parade, or if there is no parade, for the hunting field or tennis lawn. All the *bons mots* are saved up for the meets and the good fellowship and general air of festive friendliness are delightful. It is a strenuous time even for guests—how much more for hostesses!—but it is a time of inspiration and pleasure for the planter or official who has had months of loneliness and overwork in an isolated factory or station.

It is in the hot weather and rains that the Mufassal shows its trying side to the *memsahib*. In the hot weather the day begins before 5 a.m. Except in the damp districts of Bengal the courts sit at 6 a.m., which means an early *chota hazri*. Between 7 and 8 a.m. every door and window must be shut up to keep out the hot blast. As the *sahib* can rarely return before noon, the *memsahib* has a long morning, and it is hardly necessary to add that hand-pulled punkahs are neither so effective nor so steady as the electric fans of Calcutta. Even at 5 p.m. the atmosphere is so torrid that it takes some courage to venture out for tennis or golf. In some rocky places the heat is of such fierceness that it positively hurts the face as one motors or drives. In many stations ice is not available and drinks are cooled in a quaint fashion. A basket is suspended by a long rope from a tree. It is lined with straw and on this bottles of water and soda are placed; more straw is laid on top and water is poured over the whole. A boy is told off to rock this cradle and by the process of evaporation drinks may be made surprisingly cool. But such hot-weather comforts as ices and jellies must be foregone. At this season it is very probable that the *memsahib* may find herself the only lady in the station. Is it astonishing if, in the night when there is no relief from the scorching heat, when the punkahwallah is drowsy and the mosquito and sandfly unpleasantly active and alert, the most ardent Mufassalite thinks with longing of the mists of the North Sea lying on the lush verdure of the meadows and even of the cutting breath of the east wind of Scotland?

But the hot weather passes anon and the advent of the rains brings a tempestuous outburst of life. The hard burnt-up ground is mantled in green. Broad rivers over which one has ridden without wetting one's horse's feet toss tawny waves across wide beds and communications may be washed away. During one of these floods we once had the trying experience of being isolated for two and-a-half days even from telegraphic communication and for three and-a-half days from railway communication with the outside world. Misfortunes rarely come singly and it so happened my husband was absent at a District Conference at the time. The house was flooded with tubs and basins, the servants were alarmed and the food supply was limited entirely to the cereals, etc., in the storeroom and to milk of which haply there was plenty as the cows were housed in the compound. There was neither a fowl nor a slice of bread in the station! On the top of this a few hours after my husband's return and before the railway line was repaired we were transferred and in the course of a twenty-three hours journey had to carry our tiny children into eleven different conveyances including two trolleys over sketchy bridges beneath which raging torrents raced. Fortunately such experiences, if always possible, are not frequent.

The Mufassal is no place for the social butterfly. It demands a self-reliance and an infinitude of resources on which city life makes no call, but in its deep peace and wide spaciousness, far from the fretting hurry of the town, she who has eyes to see and ears to hear will find an endless number of varied interests. And not the least of these will spring from this fact that her home is in the heart of India where she has an opportunity of learning the real Hindusthan which can never accrue to the dweller in occidentalised provincial capitals.

H. STEWART MACPHERSON.



# SOME THOUGHTS UPON FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

BY K. J. SAUNDERS, B. A.

*"Let men delight to bark and bite  
It is their Nature to."*

A STUDY of Nietzsche is of more than academic interest. Explain it how we may, his influence is widespread. The brilliant but unhappy student of Russia is finding in his philosophy a salve to conscience, as he plunges headlong into a career of self-indulgence : and many a tragedy of despair can be traced to this source. In London and Paris "alarming and dangerous theories of conduct are propounded by pensive youths and studious maidens who lead the most innocent and inoffensive lives," says a writer in the *Hibbert Journal* ; and, of course, it cannot stop there. Our philosophy is the most practical thing about us, and conduct cannot long remain untouched. Moreover, ideas spread with amazing rapidity, especially when they are preached by a genius like Bernard Shaw, and girls and boys in shops and offices show a Nietzschean temper—a desire to live freely and fully, to "have their fling," to cast aside the trammels of a pietism they feel they have outgrown,

To do whatever they bloomin' like,  
Whatever it bloomin' is,

in the choice phrase of Mr. Barry Pain.

Nor is this spirit confined to the West. It is a spirit that is spreading through the whole student-world : for there is a pertness and an audacity and a hectic brilliance about Nietzsche's effusions that is especially pleasing to immature minds. Japan in the new-found pride and joy of great achievement finds in him and his school a philosophy which is vigorous, which sounds scientific

and which promises to make for national progress. Japan in fact wants "super-men" and her watchword is "Strength and the assertion of our rights;" and even India is being stirred from her philosophic calm by the same spirit, looking wistfully to the "strong and heroic virtues" of the old warrior caste.

In this desire for strong men we should all join; but we should wish to define our terms for ourselves. And most of us cannot go with Japan in her valuation. In a Japanese Review of 1910, we are told, a consensus of opinion placed Hideyoshi and Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of the list, and showed in the other names selected a marked preference for fighters.

Now most of us agree that there is plenty of fighting to be done, but not against our fellowmen. We need, not war but "a moral equivalent for war"—such as social reform and the missionary enterprise.

Jesus Christ appealed for strong men, even for "super-men," when he spoke the Beatitudes; but for strength of this kind Nietzsche has no use: it is the virtue of slaves and paupers daring to raise their heads from the "ghetto" and the alley, and to defy their hereditary lords the warrior caste.

"The moral Christian virtues," he tells us, "are to be regarded as the insurrection and mendacity of slaves."

"I found that the 'good man' was a form of self-affirmation on the part of decadence" . . . .

"What is more harmful than any vice? Pity for the weak and helpless,—*Christianity*."

He argues that this monstrous rising of the dregs of society ruined the Roman Empire; and in the wild statement of Vivekananda that "Buddha ruined India as Christ ruined the Romans" we may find an echo of our philosopher's rash dogmatism. In Vivekananda's constant outcries against the sense of sin and the penitent spirit again we may find the fruit of Nietzsche's philosophy grafted on to a pantheistic trunk: "Ye are not sinners,

but rather gods," cries the Indian teacher ; "it is a sin to call a man sinful, a standing libel on human nature."

Such statements and the whole attitude of these "energists" towards the so-called "passive" virtues of Christianity may be left to the historian and to the student of ethics to discuss !

Suffice it to suggest for consideration three questions :

- (a) Are the Beatitudes the description of a distorted, negative and passive morality as Nietzsche claims, or are not "meekness" and "poverty in spirit" rather sublime manifestations of self-control and strength ?
- (b) Are the successes of the Japanese due to self-assertion and the "will to power," so much as to the "humility" with which they went to school to the nations of the world and the "meekness" with which their rulers the Samurai gave up their high and exclusive privileges ?
- (c) Are Asoka and Constantine really to be regarded as madmen who ruined the great Empires they ruled ? And did Bonaparte really make France great ?

Our answer to each of these questions will throw light upon Nietzsche's value as a teacher; but it is in his psychology that his followers claim his chief greatness to lie : he is, they tell us, a profound and subtle, even a creative psychologist. Let us look, then, chiefly to this the most fundamental aspect of his work.

Clothed in excited and mazy sentences, reiterated and emphasized past all endurance, is his fundamental idea that the "will to power" is man's guide to truth. This is clearly an extension of or, rather, a refinement upon the older concept of the "will to be" and it has a certain value.

Man, let us paraphrase it, is an ambitious animal. "I teach you the super-man. Man is something to be surpassed . . . a rope slung between animal and superman."

Man desires power and success and his duty is to let his instincts have free play : the best service he can do the world is to become its master.

Here is a subversive idea from which a "transvaluation" of all current values must follow. Let the weak go to the wall ; let all inhibitions be regarded as symptoms of fatigue and degeneration : life is to be full-blooded and positive.

Piety is in fact a fatigue of the will ; religion largely a perverted sexuality ; morality, as Christianity defines it, is the greatest bar to progress. Nietzsche in the words of a disciple conducts "a campaign against almost everything held sacred by his contemporaries." For their values are the outcome of Christian teaching. What the world needs is not the "slave-morality" of Jesus (or Gotama), but "master morality," freedom from social restraints, fuller life. And what is life ? "It is the being cruel and pitiless towards all in us that is weak and old, and not in us alone."

Whence then does the morality of pity and gentleness proceed ? It is the product, says our seer, of the pressure of the master's hand upon the slave : who cringes and is meek because he has learnt that these virtues pay. "Slave-morality" is essentially utilitarian morality.

Now Nietzsche prides himself not less upon his biology than upon his psychology ! Yet how much simpler and more biological it seems to trace this spirit of meekness and kindness to the helplessness of the mother and child and the protective instincts called into being in the savage breast in ages before society had divided itself into social strata.

But suppose we have survived these jolts and leaps in the dark so far ; we pause breathlessly to ask "How did the pitiful cringing of the wily slave become the accepted standard of the ruler ?"

"Cherchez le juif" says the Philosopher (who by the way shows all the race-prejudice and rancour of a warped nature). The hated Semite has once more thrust his greasy and contemptible person between mankind and their best interests ; turning the world very literally up-side down.

By some subtle and Machiavellian cunning, the Jews revenged themselves upon a hostile world by taking the cross, the symbol of Roman power, and making it a by-word and an offence! How did they do it? By nailing to it their choicest spirit!

And he has, as he promised, drawn all men unto him.

“Has not Israel, by the very subterfuge of this ‘Redeemer,’ this seeming adversary and destroyer of Israel, attained the final goal of its sublime rage for vengeance?”

The Jewish nation we are to conceive following the dictates of instinct and lusting for power and revenge, decided (whether consciously or subconsciously, we are not told) to create a new morality, by making man worship a suffering God!

Here is psychology which may be examined by those who have the leisure and the taste for such morbid pursuits.

That the study of Nietzsche is really a study in morbid psychology has been argued with great skill and insight by Max Nordau, and there is much to be said for this view.

He seems to me a degenerate of unstable temper and weak physique hankering after an ideal of rugged strength, and for him Napoleon is the super-man *par excellence* “man most unique and latest born . . . synthesis of the inhuman and the super-man.”

What then is the super-man? He is a colossus “beyond good and evil,” the supreme individualist, who seeks his own ends and tests his instincts and impulses only by his own needs, despising “the vulgar herd” and revelling in sinning with a high hand.

“It might be good for the preacher of little precepts, that he suffered and bore the sins of man. But I rejoice in great sins as my great consolation.” Nietzsche in fact does not hesitate to rank great criminals amongst the super-men: “the criminal is often enough not grown to the level of his deed,” *i.e.*, he is greater than he knows!

Yet such greatness ends on the gallows or at the best at St. Helena. Is this due to the infatuated blindness of

mankind? Yet Herod was "eaten of worms" and Nature herself has spoken out in other dramatic ways against this impossible psychology. Is it cruel to remember that she brought Nietzsche himself to the mad-house?

Psychology teaches us that the last-learned and most vital lesson of life is strong self-control, not self-assertion; it says in emphatic tones that self-assertion ends in lunacy. "I know of men who believe in themselves more colossally than Napoleon or Cæsar. I know where flames the fixed star of certainty and success. I can guide you to the thrones of the super-men. The men who really believe in themselves are all in lunatic asylums." So writes that clear thinker and acute psychologist Mr. G. K. Chesterton, and he is quite right.

Take again the theory that the strong man is the man who follows his passion. "Man shall be trained for war, and woman for the recreation of the warrior, all else is folly . . . ;" yet psychology says in emphatic tones that the really strong man is the pure in heart; "rigid chastity of thought and deed makes men and nations dominant."

Nietzsche's theory of conscience is especially wild.

Conscience, he declares, is man's instinct of cruelty turning in upon himself and rending him for want of other prey! Man must be tearing something; "it is his nature to;" so he lacerates himself and calls the inward process his sense of right and wrong. What are we to make of this? It is both nasty and untrue. For there is a kingliness and a calmness about the voice of conscience which we all recognize; and, moreover, it acts for happiness as well as for sorrow. What is "a good conscience" if a bad one is this insane self-laceration?

What a field opens out here for the student of morbid psychology!

And Nietzsche's *clientele* also belong largely to this realm: the harassed and oppressed students of Russia, overworked, underfed, without hope in the world: tired shop-girls standing ten hours a day upon strained or

damaged feet and forced to smile and please the ruling classes—it is these who long to be super-men and super-women; it is they who join the ranks of the Nihilists and the suffragettes, and can we wonder or blame them very much if they throw bombs or break windows? Shall we not rather pity them?

As I look round upon the teeming student population of Calcutta\* I seem to see a field ripe for the contagion of this pestilence. What is to be done to save our students from such a fate? Will the “caste-virtues” of the Aryan warrior commended by the Gita and by Vivekananda avail them? Or the wild indulgence of instincts perverted by unnatural conditions?

The problem is one that calls for very serious thought. At present they are awaking and before long they will demand for themselves what we are so tardily giving them. Meantime we need to offer them the only “moral equivalent for war” which can satisfy sane men—social service; we need to see that it begins at home in better social conditions and in healthy exercise and that then it spreads out into the highways and alleys of our city. It is only by the expulsive power of some new enthusiasm that we may cast out the Nietzschean spirit. We complain at times of the lack of discipline and courtesy in our Calcutta students: let us rather teach them the true meaning of self-control. Above all, shall we not look upon them with the sympathy which alone can understand, and the longing to give them that “abundant life” which Christ yearns to impart to them. They ask for bread and shall we give them a stone?

K. J. SAUNDERS.

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\* The following facts gathered from over 300 sets of answers to our questions and borne out by expert authority are significant in this connection:

(1) It is physically impossible for more than 5% of the Calcutta students to get anything like regular exercise on the playing fields provided:

(2) Less than 20% claim to have any social relations with their Professors:

(3) The writings of Vivekananda are very popular amongst them.

## EARLY BUDDHISM IN THE WEST.

BY J. C. MATTHEW, M. A.

**B**OTH Buddhism and Christianity have left the land of their origin. The movement of the former has been eastwards and of the latter westwards. They have gone right round the globe and now confront one another—in Japan and America—with the North Pacific ocean between them. Between Maghada and Palestine, Mahamadanism has driven itself in like a wedge. Before the time of Mahammad, we know that Christianity had spread in the lands where the religion of the prophet is now supreme. Some of the tribes in Arabia had accepted it. Syria was one of the strongholds of the Church. The Euphrates Valley was a place of refuge for the Nestorians. Heretical sects—such as the Manichaeans—had many followers in Armenia and Persia. When the Mahayana moved eastwards—after the council of Jhalandara (1st century A.D.)—it carried in its flowing tide Christian elements, chiefly Manichaeans. When the Chinese at a later date made Marco Polo a Boddhisat they did so because there was Christianity in the Buddhism they had received from the West.

But before the rise of Christianity turned the tide of Buddhism eastwards, it is possible that there may have been an extension of the religion of Gautama into the lands now occupied by Mahamadanism. And there is evidence that it was known in Syria. On the recommendation of John of Damascus, the Christians made a saint of Josaphat, who is identified with Gautama Boddhisat. The story of Barlaam and Josaphat had been translated into Syriac, and the people of the Euphrates Valley had certainly long been familiar with the teaching of the Buddha as conveyed in this popular form.



Intercourse between Syria and India was frequent from early times, although the first dates we can put upon it are from the time of Alexander the Great. After his victories at Granicus and Issus we know that he besieged and destroyed Tyre (333 B.C.) and then visited Egypt, where he founded Alexandria (332 B.C.). This done, he retraced his steps and commenced the pursuit of Darius, and afterwards of Bessus, through Persia into Bactria. From Bactria, where he founded—we are told by Strabo—eight cities, he advanced into India (327 B.C.) and, after more city-building in the Punjab, he returned to Babylon by way of Karachi—his fleet under Nearchus sailing up the Persian Gulf, while he himself marched the rest of his army through the desert south of Baluchistan (325 B.C.). It is not likely that he followed up Darius and Bessus merely for the sake of revenge or that he was drawn to India by curiosity. There were commercial motives beneath his policy. He destroyed Tyre that his new-founded Alexandria might supersede it as the depot of oriental merchandize. He followed up the fugitive Persian King that he might clear the great trade route and he built new cities to keep the road open. It was with an eye to business that he advanced to India and established an outpost there; and when he came back by the Persian Gulf he was examining the capabilities of another route which was also open and in use for commerce. Alexander could not help being a trader, seeing he was Greek. Long before the 4th century B.C. communication was open between India and the West. Ezekiel details the oriental merchandize with which Tyre was supplied and although he does not mention India among the countries which sent goods, it may have been that the Persians, Babylonians and Arabs, with whom the Phœnicians traded, were only middlemen. Damascus also, famous for its silks and ivory, must have drawn its supplies from the East. The many articles of luxury said to have been imported by King Solomon indicate traffic with India. From very early times, Petra

enjoyed a splendour so inconsistent with the barrenness of its surroundings that its prosperity can only be explained from its situation on one of the great caravan routes.

It is then quite possible that Buddhism may have been transmitted to the West before the Christian Era. The way was open; and although the merchantman is not always religious, still he communicates ideas, and the missionary may follow where he leads. And indeed there is evidence of a propaganda. In Rock Edict XIII of Asoka, as given by Vincent Smith, we read: "And this is the chief conquest in the opinion of his Sacred Majesty,—the conquest of the Law of Piety,—this it is that is won by his Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms, as far as 600 leagues,—where the Greek (Yona) king named Antiochus dwells, and beyond that Antiochus to where the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas and Alexander; and in the South, the (realm of the Cholas) and Pandyaś, with Ceylon likewise,—and here too, in the king's dominions, among the Yonas and Kambhojas, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Pulindas,—everywhere men follow his Sacred Majesty's instruction in the Law of Piety. Even where the envoys of his Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, there too men bearing his Sacred Majesty's ordinance based on the Law of Piety, practise and will practise the law."

Asoka tells us himself—in Rock Edict XIII—that he first inclined to the Buddhist religion in consequence of the horrors of war in the conquest of the Kalingas. This was in the year 261 B.C. In the same year, apparently, he became a lay disciple, and a few years later he entered the order as a bhikku. In 257, the 13th year of his reign, he began his inscriptions, and for the rest of his life was most active in propagating his adopted faith. In Pillar Edict I he says:—"When I had been consecrated 26 years, I caused this pious edict to be written. Both this world and the next are hard to secure save by intense love

of the Law of Piety, intense self-examination, intense obedience, intense dread, and intense effort. However, owing to my instructions, this yearning for and love of the Law of Piety from day to day have grown and will grow. My agents, too, whether of high or low or middle rank, themselves conform to my teaching and lead in the right way,—for fickle-minded people must be lead in the right way,—and the wardens of the marches act in like manner.” His zeal led him to appoint censors of Piety whose duty it was to see that the edicts—especially those against taking life—were observed. In Rock Edict V he says :—“Now in all the long ages past, officers known as censors of the Law of Piety never had been appointed ; whereas by me, after I had been consecrated 13 years, censors of the Law of Piety were made. Among people of all denominations they were engaged in promoting the establishment of Piety, the progress of Piety, the welfare and happiness of the lieges, as well as of the Yonas, Kambojas, Ghandaras, Rashtrikas, Pitemikas and other nations on my borders.”

Elsewhere—in Rock Edict III—we see how Asoka diffused Buddhism by an army of officials who went on circuit every three years. They were expressly enjoined to preach the Law of Piety while not neglecting civil administration. From the extracts given above—Rock Edict V as well as from Rock Edict XIII, first quoted—we find that he did not restrict his missionary zeal to his own dominions, but sought to extend a knowledge of Buddhism beyond his borders. The wardens of the marches (Pillar Edict I) are exhorted to lead the fickle-minded people in the right way. The king has at heart the welfare and happiness of the Kambojas (supposed to be the Tibetans) and the Gandaras (the Afghans) and other natives on his borders. But most suggestive is his intercourse with the Greeks (Yonas). Not only does he commend to the censors the Yonas on his borders—presumably the Greeks of Bactria—but he expressly says that the conquest of the Law of Piety has been pushed for six hundred leagues to

where the Yona King Antiochus dwells, and beyond that Antiochus to where the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas and Alexander. Antiochus II, Theos, reigned in Antioch 261-246. It may, however, be to his father, Antiochus I, Soter, that Asoka refers, as Theos had just come to the throne about the time the Edict was published (259-257). Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Alexandria from 285 to 247. Alexander Gonatas was king of Macedon 278-239. Magas king of Cyrene—to the west of Egypt—was half-brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus and died 258. Alexander II, King of Epirus, reigned from about 272 to 258. In Rock Edict XIII Asoka permits the supposition that he sent emissaries into the dominions of these sovereigns to proclaim the Law of Piety which he found so wholesome for his own people. But in another place (Rock Edict II), he tells us of a mission which he dispatched in the same direction with a special purpose. “Everywhere in the dominion of his Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King,—such as the Cholas, the Pandyas, Satiyaputra, Katalaputra, Ceylon, Antiochus the King, and likewise the Kings near unto that Antiochus,—everywhere has his Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King made two kinds of curative arrangements, to wit, curative arrangements for man and curative arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also,—medicinal for man and medicinal for beast,—wherever they were lacking, have been imported and planted. On the roads also wells have been dug and trees planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.” The Buddhist King established hospitals or dispensaries in the dominions of the Greek Kings already mentioned. We have no means of knowing whether this edict is later than the one previously quoted, No. XIII; but it seems to show that Buddhism had found some favour among the Greeks. It is at least certain that there was friendly intercourse between India and the Levant, seeing that Asoka was allowed to send for and import the medicinal herbs he needed.

That the wardens of the marches did their duty and that Buddhism was disseminated throughout Bactria is certain. When the Greeks were driven out of that country by the Scythians (about 150 B.C.) and established themselves in the Kabul Valley and the Punjab, their two foremost Kings, Menander and Apollodotus, (reigned 140-80 B.C.) were Buddhists and stamped Buddhist emblems on their coins. The royal approval gave to the faith of Gautama shows the influence of popular opinion. The majority of the people were of the faith and they had been converted to it before leaving Bactria. This country was indeed a stronghold of Buddhism. The Scythians yielded to its influence and when the Mahayana was formed, Kanishka was the chief agent of its propagation.

We have seen what importance Bactria had with Alexander the Great as the key to the trade route between India and the Levant. That the Greeks held it for so long shows the value they gave to its possession. It is probable that the Bactrians were the carrier of the goods brought up by caravans from India. They were the middlemen between the Indians of the East, the Greeks and other people farther West. It is not likely that many Indian merchants passed right through in defiance of the length of the way and the rigours of the climate. But not the less would the influence of Buddhism be transmitted to the West. The Bactrians, being themselves converts, would be more zealous for the faith than those born into it. There is every reason to believe that a knowledge of the Law of Piety was carried westwards long after the time of Asoka.

When however we look for evidence of its presence in the countries mentioned by the great Indian Emperor, our expectations are not gratified. We have in India, in the N.-W. Provinces and in the Punjab, evidences of Greco-Bactrian piety in the Gandhara Sculptures. The same skill which stamped the coins of Demetrius and Eucratides (190-150) was employed to decorate the memorials of the Buddha. But there is nothing to show that the same

craftsmen were employed in the dominions of the successors of Antiochus and the other kings on the west. If there were any Buddhist sculptures west of India, they have long since disappeared. The only exception is found at Bamian, near Kabul, where there is a colossal figure hewn in the rock. It is mentioned by Fa Hian, who says the Buddhists carved it and then went forth beyond the borders of their kingdom to preach Buddhism. Any buildings there may have been would be adopted by the Christians for their own use. Mahammadan iconoclasm would destroy any vestiges which savoured of idolatry. It is possible that there are Buddhist carvings buried under the sand of the Euphrates Valley or built into the mosques of Syria.

Not is the evidence from coins any more satisfactory. It is probable that the tide of currency was from the West towards India rather than in the contrary direction. As the Bactrians were the middlemen, the coins used in the trade between East and West would mostly be of that country. They have flowed down into India, but none as yet appear to have been found in Syria. But it is the fault of all catalogues that they seldom or never give the "find-spot" of the coins pictured or described. It is possible that Bactrian coins have been found in the West and almost certain that when excavations are made at such places as Antioch many will be discovered. It is interesting to note that Timarchus of Babylon (162 B.C.) closely imitates the coins of Eucratides.

Literary evidence has many defects from which archæology is free. Forgery is easy; and the more direct and convincing the proof appears to be, the more likely it is to be fallacious. There is, however, no direct mention of Buddhism in literature before the beginning of the Christian era. The earliest reference to Buddha by name is made by Clement of Alexandria, who wrote 193-211 A.D. It is dangerous to draw conclusions from real or apparent resemblance in thought expressed. Because two people think alike, it does not necessarily follow that they have

borrowed from one another or even been in communication. Because Pythagoras gave out a doctrine of transmigration of souls, it does not follow that he was directly influenced by Indian thought. And even if there be Indian elements in Greek philosophy, these are not necessarily Buddhist; for Gautama left metaphysics severely alone and his message to the world is religious and practical.

The strongest literary argument for the importation of Buddhism into the West is afforded by the Jewish philosophy of Alexandria. The Jews, we know, had distributed themselves all along the trade-routes. Alexandria, the gentile city which numbered most Jews among its inhabitants, was in constant contact with the East. But that Philo, who lived there in the first half of the first century, borrowed from India is a statement which cannot be proved. He has indeed, in his metaphysics, many thoughts in common with Indian philosophers; and the use he makes of ecstasy as a means of rising out of sensible existence through loss of self-consciousness, is not without parallel in Buddhism. But, at the same time, it must be admitted that we scarcely need to go outside Judaism to find the genesis of Alexandrine philosophy. In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, probably written at Alexandria, we have the connecting link between Philo and the earlier Jewish speculations which may be traced by and through the wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach to the *Book of Job* and the *Proverbs of Solomon*. It is possible that Philo knew much about Buddhism, but it cannot be proved that such knowledge shaped his philosophy.

The whole argument built upon literary resemblance is extremely fallacious. It is quite an artificial construction forced on by arbitrary selection of material. And when the aid of symbols and of orphic and other mysteries is called in, the case is hopeless. Anything may be proved from these things, if we admit the interpretation of the person who uses them in argument.

Buddhism owes its origin to the religious needs of one man,—Gautama. It spread within the borders of India

because there were many who sought salvation, and it seemed to them that the Buddha offered what they required. In its subsequent extension eastwards from the land of its origin, the faith of Gautama found ready acceptance because, as an ethical system, it left untouched the superstitions of the multitude. The Mahayana dethroned no gods; but gathered an ever-growing pantheon. It disregarded no devils; but offered the means of restraining them. We may believe that if it travelled westwards, it adapted itself to the philosophy of the Greeks, the theology of the Jews, and the superstition of the pagan multitude. The surest evidence we can have, therefore, of its presence in the Levant is as an ethical influence. If we find there any religious movement affecting the life of the people, in whole or in part, it is possible that Buddhist Missionaries may have been at work. Philo, in his treatise "On the Contemplative Life," gives a very interesting account of a sect he calls the Therapeutæ. They formed a colony beyond Lake Mariotis, near Alexandria, where they dwelt apart from one another, each in a separate hut. They practised the greatest bodily austerities. For six days in the week they were absorbed in meditation, but on the seventh day they met for discussion. It is possible that these "healers" were practising a remedy for a sick world according to the Buddha's initiative; but the information about them is too scanty for any conclusion.

Fuller information, however, is given about another religious movement on the borders of Palestine. Pliny and Josephus, as well as Philo, describe for us with sufficient detail the daily life of the Essenes, so that we can form an estimate of the religious zeal which kept this sect together. Pliny (N.H. V. 17) says: "Lying to the west of Asphaltitis, and sufficiently distant to escape its noxious exhalations, are the Esseni, a people that live apart from the world, and marvellous beyond all others throughout the whole earth, for they have no women among them: to sexual desire they are strangers; money they have none; the palm



trees are their only companions. Day after day, however, their numbers are fully recruited by multitudes of strangers that resort to them, driven thither to adopt their usages by the tempest of fortune and wearied with the miseries of life. Thus it is, that through thousands of ages, incredible to relate, this people eternally prolongs its existence, without a single birth taking place there ; so fruitful a source of population to it is that weariness of life of which is felt by others." Pliny, we know lived B.C. 23—79 A.D. He probably derived his information from Alexander Polyhistor, who is cited as one of his authorities for this 5th Book of his Natural History. His statement is, no doubt, fairly accurate, although the existence of the Essenes for "thousands of ages" is certainly only his way of saying that they have continued for a long time.

The account which Pliny gives of the Essenes, though brief, is valuable as being the testimony of an independent pagan witness. Philo and Josephus, both Jews, treat more fully of this peculiar sect within their own religious community. Their accounts are too long to be quoted. They agree in giving the number of the Essenes as about 4,000 ; but they differ somewhat in regard to their settlement. Philo says that they avoid all cities on account of the lawlessness of those who inhabit them. Josephus says that many of them dwell in every city. They seem to have been widely distributed—in spite of what Pliny says—as Josephus mentions that they have—in each city—a person told off to care for strangers.

Both authorities bear testimony to the excellent morality of the Essenes. They have adopted their way of life because of their admiration for virtue and love of gentleness and humanity. They study to keep their minds in holiness and purity. They judge contentment and frugality to be great abundance. They avoid all that conduces to covetousness, saying that it has destroyed the natural equality of mankind.

No one is admitted into the order unless of mature age. The applicant is subjected to severe probation for

one year at the end of which he is made "partaker of the waters of purification." But he is not yet a full brother. He is tested for another two years, after which he is received into the Order. Philo says they believe in the natural equality of mankind. But it is curious to find in Josephus that they divide themselves into four classes, and the distinction of degree is so marked that if a senior is touched by a junior he must purify himself. Discipline is strict within the Order and a member is expelled if detected in heinous sin.

They apparently had one large communal dwelling-place, in which, however, they did not live in idleness. They are all occupied with various employments. Some are engaged in agriculture, other are shepherds and herdsman; some tend bees; some are artisans and craftsmen. This they do, says Philo, to keep themselves from want and to discipline the soul by the labour of the body. It was not a life of idleness, if we take the account Josephus gives of how they spent the day, and he knows what he is writing about, because he was for two years a probationer in the Order.

Apparently they were permitted to hire out their labour; but when they received wages, they were required to give them up to the general manager who caters for them and supplies them with all things needful. They had everything in common. No one could call his own even the clothes he wore. They were not extravagant in dress, but wore the same garments till they fell to pieces. Such luxury as anointing with oil is discountenanced and reckoned as a defilement. Josephus says they dressed in white.

The sick are cared for out of the common fund and the aged are carefully tended. Josephus says they were long-lived on account of their simplicity in diet and regularity of life. Perhaps it is unnecessary to remark that they repudiated marriage. Both Philo and Josephus go out of the way to revile women.

They do not sacrifice animals, and on this account are excluded from the orthodox Jewish temple. Nor do they

manufacture weapons of war. Yet, when travelling they are permitted to carry a weapon for defence against robbers. They do not engage in commerce or trade of any kind.

Philo says that "they leave the logical part of philosophy,—as in no respect necessary for the acquisition of virtue,—and devote their attention to the moral part of philosophy." It was their belief that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls man except what is according to its decree. The soul is immortal; the body,—in which it is imprisoned,—is mortal and perishable. Thus they despise the miseries of life and are above pain by their spirit. Good souls pass to a pleasant land beyond the ocean; bad souls go to a dark den full of never-ending punishments.

The whole bent of their religion is practical. Josephus (B. J. II. 8-6) says of them: "They dispense their anger in a just manner and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity and are the ministers of peace. Whatever they say, also, is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury: for they say that whatever cannot be believed without swearing by God is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of soul and body, and inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their bodies."

In the account of the Essenes given by Philo and Josephus there is much which suggests that they were in touch with Buddhism. Their communal life and monastic discipline; the frugality of their diet and the simplicity of their clothing; their celibacy; their aversion to taking life, even in religious sacrifice; their condemnation of covetousness, and their constant endeavour to preserve an even mind untroubled by worldliness. But, on the other hand, they are also strongly Jewish in faith and practice. They observe the law of Moses and keep the

Sabbath day by ceasing from all labour ; they attend synagogues of their own for the study of the Law. Their excessive regard for ceremonial purity is part of the Mosaic ritual. They believe in the immortality of a personal soul and in rewards and punishments in a future state. They have prophets who profess to foretell the future. All this is Jewish and quite contrary to early Buddhism.

There is no need to seek for the origin of the Essenes as a religious communism outside of their own people. There are other similar societies in Jewish history. The "sons of the prophets," as early as the 9th century B.C., formed colonies at such places as Jericho, near to which, it may be noted, Pliny places the Essenes. The Rechabites were a similar association of marked ascetic tendency and the Nazirites seem to have gathered together in settlements. The Essenes, in the first century B.C., are the survival of established custom among the Jews.

This does not, however, exclude the possibility of the presence of Buddhist elements. The Essenes may perfectly well have adopted in part the ethics of the Buddha while retaining the theology of Moses. But the evidence is too scanty to permit of any certain conclusion.

The verdict "not proved" must be passed upon the attempt to detect Buddhism in the West before the Christian era. Every here and there evidence seems to offer itself, which when followed up leads to nothing. Asoka says that he sent emissaries to Antiochus and to four other kings, one of whom was Antigonus Gonatas. Of this Antigonus we are told that he attended the lectures of Zeno the Stoic at Athens and that he pressed the philosopher to return with him to his court. The king was evidently interested in religion and philosophy, and stoicism has some similarity with Indian thought. But we do not know, unfortunately, what response he made to Asoka. Philo says that Alexander the Great wished to take back with him Calanus, an Indian sage, "by which he (Calanus)

would obtain the greatest imaginable glory throughout Asia and Europe." We may infer from this that Greece was disposed for Indian philosophy and that Alexander had profited by the instruction of his master Aristotle. But we cannot estimate the contribution, which the West, in this case, received from the East. Josephus (against Apion IV. 22) makes Aristotle tell of a Jew remarkable for great and wonderful fortitude in his diet and for his continent way of living. He says he was from Coele-Syria and was derived from the Indian philosophers who are named by the Indians "Calami" and by the Syrians "Judæi," and they took their name, he adds, from the country they inhabit. The Sakyas (as shown by Asvaghosa in his *Buddhacarita*) were also called Ikshvakus, which means "sugar-cane." It is perhaps no more than juggling with words to say that the *calami*—the cane people of Josephus—are the same as the Sakyas, and that therefore the pious Jew of Aristotle was a Buddhist.

It is tempting also to play with the symbolism of the Gnostics and to find in the æons of the neoplatonists of Alexandria a reflex of the bodddhisatvas, who, at this time, were taking their place in the Mahayana. But all such evidence, while it appeals to the imagination, does not convince the reason. If the presence of Buddhism in the West before the Christian era is ever proved, it will be by archæology, after a careful and minute exploration has been made of Syria and Asia Minor.

J. C. MATTHEW.

## INDIA IN THE REVIEWS.

BY VERAX.

**F**EW countries have suffered more than India at the hands of its interpreters in the English Reviews. If there is a general election in Germany or a revolution in Portugal the curious may confidently turn to one of the Reviews for an essay, which will be at once entertaining and informing. But when history is made in India it is very seldom written in England. A few years ago, when hardly a week passed without a political outrage and when the phenomenon of an Anarchist epidemic in a land wrongly supposed to be singularly free from bloodshed required to be explained, it was difficult to find in the pages of the British Reviews an Indian article which could be read without a smile at the profound ignorance of the writer or a yawn over his irrelevant erudition or garrulous reminiscences. Latterly the persecution which India has endured has been aggravated by the expert productions of writers who have apparently been accepted as authorities on India because they bear Indian names.

Mr. Montagu stumbled upon a profound truth when he dismissed the criticisms of Sir John Rees with the remark that events in India move with great rapidity so that the knowledge even of retired Anglo-Indians passes quickly out of date. Much of this information indeed is as valueless as last year's Bradshaw. As for the Indian expert, it might surely have occurred to the educated mind that to be an inhabitant of the British Isles is not always to possess an adequate knowledge of English politics.

As it is possible that the reader may be little acquainted with the disquisitions which the English Reviews from time to time publish on Indian affairs, it may not be unprofitable to justify the strictures which have already been made by

a dispassionate analysis of an elaborate essay which appeared in the first number of the *Edinburgh Review* edited by Mr. Harold Cox. This celebrated quarterly, to which in the past many illustrious writers have contributed, and which has always been distinguished by scholarly accuracy and a regard for culture, might well be expected to rise above the level of the miscellaneous monthly reviews in its treatment of India. But the trail of the strange ineptitude which is the characteristic malady of writers on India is to be found in the production of the *Edinburgh Reviewer*. There was a time when passages from this famous *Review* might be selected as examples of scholarly English. The article on "India and Her Sovereign" departs from this tradition and might well serve as a compendium of errors in English style. Even the split infinitive is not wanting, as, for instance, "It was impossible for Indians who had lived even for a few months in the democratic atmosphere of Great Britain *to ever again accept* the Oriental conception, etc." The slang of the day is freely used. "The attention of the country" is said in one place to have been "switched off." Again, "officials of long experience found themselves *speeded up*" and Mr. Lovat Fraser is credited with having "graduated in India," the meaning apparently being not that he obtained the degree of an Indian University but that he became Editor of the *Times of India*. Phrases dear to the heart of the rural reporter, such as "the spacious days of Queen Victoria," are evidently prized by this successor of Macaulay. Nor does he shrink from that distorted form in which a noble line in *Lycidas* is quoted by the illiterate. There is indeed hardly a phrase which is not irritating to a fastidious taste. The writer's knowledge of English literature would be discreditable to a shopwalker. "Our readers," observes the Reviewer, "will remember the scene in Dotheboys Hall when Nicholas felled the brutal Squeers. India is very like a school. In the Indian school the masters were humane

and fair, but in any school if authority be shaken the scholars run wild." If in the Indian schools the masters were humane, there is absolutely no resemblance between it and Dotheboys Hall. There was no Squeers to be felled by the Nationalist Nicholas. Why, then, this erudite reference to *Nicholas Nickleby*? The only explanation seems to be that the Reviewer desires to impress "our readers" with his knowledge of the works of Dickens and, being unable to find an apposite illustration, is quite content with one which is obviously inapplicable.

The slovenly carelessness of the Reviewer is almost beyond belief. Every man who has given the slightest attention to the controversy over the removal of the capital to Delhi is aware that the Government of India in their despatch of August 25, 1911, adumbrated in a much-discussed paragraph a development of provincial autonomy. He is aware also that Lord Crewe endeavoured in a speech in the House of Lords to give a qualified interpretation to the language of the Government of India. Yet the Reviewer actually ascribes the passage in question to Lord Crewe, and does so, not by a slip of the pen, but deliberately. "The whole position," he says, "is admirably summed up in *Lord Crewe's despatch*, which he has in substance re-affirmed in the House of Lords while repudiating 'the extravagant gloss put upon *his* language by some of the Indian papers.'" A still more grotesque blunder is made by the Reviewer when he quotes a page and a half from a leading article in the *Times* newspaper and describes it as a speech made by Lord Curzon in the House of Lords. The mistake is the more inexcusable since every view expressed in the article is a direct contradiction of the authentic opinions of Lord Curzon, as set forth in speeches which have been reported in every newspaper and created general admiration.

To enumerate the mis-statements of fact in the article under notice would be to reproduce its text. The Reviewer appears to be incapable of making an accurate statement.



His thesis is that India requires a Royal Prince as Viceroy and to establish this foolish and impracticable proposition he distorts and inverts notorious facts and improvises others of his own invention. For his purpose he deems it necessary to prove that "the black cloud of unrest that had been hanging over India for five years, ever gathering in deepness, (*sic*) disappeared in an instant before the sunshine of Delhi." The effects of the royal visit were, by general admission, striking and profound; and, this being the case, to exaggerate the beneficent results by a falsification of history is the part, not of a loyal subject, but of a sycophant. Again the *Edinburgh Reviewer* affirms that before the King-Emperor came to India "concession affecting the few and repression profoundly affecting the many were the dreary programme." It is easy to test the correctness of this assertion, for the measures of repression are on record. They consisted of an Act to prevent incitement to murder, an Act to regulate political meetings and an Act to check seditious writings in the newspapers. A number of persons were prosecuted for seditious speeches or articles. A dozen agitators were deported. If the number of persons who attend public meetings or read newspapers of any kind is set down at 500,000, this is an obvious overestimate. But even if it is conceded that half a million of the people of India were affected by the repressive legislation, 299½ millions were utterly unconscious of its existence. A little reflection would, moreover, have satisfied even the *Edinburgh Review* that the class affected by repression corresponded very closely with the class affected by concession. His statement is, therefore, palpable nonsense.

It would be easy to multiply indefinitely these instances of the manner in which the Reviewer garbles history and concocts fiction. But enough has been said to establish the contention that in discussing Indian affairs even the *Edinburgh Review* declines from all its best traditions.

What wonder, then, if in the lesser Reviews Mr. Havell is allowed to continue his cry that India is sick and sad because the Public Works Department erects ugly buildings, while Sir Roper Lethbridge reiterates his strange delusion that Indian unrest would vanish if Mr. Lloyd George abolished the tea duty?

**VERAX.**

# SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CALCUTTA.

## I. THE PROBLEM FOR CHARITY AMONG THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY.

BY JOHN MACRAE, M. A.

**T**HE function of charity is a limited one. Social betterment is a wide thing, but for much that it proposes a change in the social conditions is necessary. Education has a wide scope for its endeavours, but education is not charity.

Charity does not seek to change the social and economic conditions. It leaves them as they are. Its problem is this :—

In any community, as at present organized, there are those who are unable to provide themselves with the necessities of a reasonable existence, or, at lowest, are unable to provide for themselves the necessities of physical existence.

Charity seeks to provide for those who are unable to do so, and whose relatives are unable to do so, the maintenance necessary to support life.

It seeks also to ameliorate the condition of those who, though able to supply themselves with the bare necessities of life, are unable to do anything beyond it to mitigate the rigours of existence. But if these were the only objects of charity, to give doles would be its only function, and there would be no problem at all. Poverty would be the sole criterion of help and it would seek to level up the money received by individuals and families to a certain sum. This was the theory that cost the English nation so dearly between 1750 and 1834.

But since man is an animal who has a soul, and the spirit which is within him may be stimulated to such exertions,

that the man who was indigent may become again a self-supporting member of the community and, on the other hand, may be depressed into making no further exertions for himself, and coming to subsist on the earnings of others, becoming in other words a social parasite, the functions of charity are more delicate than any rule-of-thumb granting of doles. It is necessary therefore to discuss problems and methods of charity in order that as many as possible of those who are not self-supporting may be enabled to take their places as efficient members of society and as few as possible induced to give up the effort necessary for this and become habitual dependents upon it.

We must understand the social and economic environment of those who are to be helped, the organization out of which, through lack of will or of ability, they have dropped and into which it must be the effort of charity to restore them.

I propose in the following pages to deal with the problem of charity in so far as it deals with a community with which I have some slight acquaintance.

The Anglo-Indian community in Calcutta numbers something under 20,000 all told. The percentage of persons who were partially or wholly in receipt of relief was, in 1892, 22½. In other words, out of every four members of the community, one was in receipt of charitable relief in one form or another.

In the present year of grace the number is if anything higher, it certainly is no smaller. No complete statistics are available, but the following considerations lead me to this conclusion. The number of persons in receipt of relief from the D'Souza and Doucett Funds, all of them persons certified to be of mixed parentage and most of them in Calcutta, is over 1,000. The number of pensions granted by the District Charitable Society and the St. John's Vestry cannot be much short of 500, and most of these go to members of this community. In addition to these, there are monthly gratuities given by firms and

private individuals, there are "pensions" given by churches to their own poor, there is "casual relief" distributed by the District Charitable Society, there are many private individuals who give personally to those who beg from them, and there are institutions, such as the Almshouse, St. Joseph's Home, St. Vincent's Home, St. Mary's Home, where poor people are wholly supported in Institutions, all for the behoof mainly of this community. I cannot believe that the persons covered by these operations of charity is less than 20 per cent. of the community, and there are in addition many children, recorded as destitute, and helped by Government Grants, in the educational institutions of the city.

There is therefore in this community a field for charitable work perhaps greater in intensity than in any other community in the world that calls urgently for thought, and urgently for action.

Sir Theodore Morrison has been telling an audience in India lately that it is not possible to carry over the economic conclusions come to in the West, and find them immediately applicable to India. India has not definitely passed through an Industrial Revolution, and the Economics of India, founded on large and wide observations, and statistics worked out over a large period of years have still to be thoroughly worked out.

It is necessary therefore, when considering the problems before charity, with regard to any section of the community, to consider closely what the conditions are, under which they find themselves organized. The conditions which obtain in other lands, do not obtain here, and therefore the remedies which have been tried with greater or less success in other places may not be applicable here. We must consider the conditions as they exist and the remedies that are being applied, in the light of those conditions. We cannot condemn nor can we applaud any particular method off hand, because it has proved baneful or effective, amid other conditions. For charity, after

all, is a problem in Applied Economics. This is evident when we come to examine the conditions which predispose to poverty. Writers on the problems of poverty in other lands make much of such predisposing conditions as, I take a list at random, Monotony, Intemperance, Seasonal Trades, Blind-Alley Occupations, Casual Labour. There is not the monotony here, that obtains in the life of the poor in western countries. We look in vain for row after row of brick houses all of the same pattern and all ugly, dull pavements, and dark courts. The monotonies of colour, and the depressing regularity of street, most certainly do not exist. Nor is there the monotony that comes over life when every neighbour within a radius of miles is very much of the same rank and condition. There is no part of Calcutta where there are only people of one social grade, there are scarcely ever two houses in one lane alike, there are patches of grass to be found, and trees, in the poorest quarters, and amid the varied races that jostle one another where are the dwellings of the poor, and the kaleidoscopic life of the bazars, life in the poorer quarters of Calcutta, in which this community live, presents no outward monotony, and if the lives led by the poor, especially by the women, are monotonous, the fault lies not in the surroundings, but in the lack of education, the dullness and deadness of spirit, which are not the result of outward monotony, but of a deeper disease within.

Nor is the problem of Intemperance at all so acute as it is among the poor of our Home cities. There is nothing like the misery caused by drink in towns at Home, among the poorer Anglo-Indians. Drink there certainly is, and drunkenness, but it is confined to the hopelessly demoralized for the most part, the time-expired soldier who has got to the bottom of the ladder, the Beachcomber, the habitual In-and-Out of the Almshouse, and such like. My impression is that among the really poor, there is little drunkenness, comparatively.

Seasonal Trade, is another factor that is of little account. The only really seasonal trade that I know is the driving of steam-rollers which is usually paid at about Rs. 50 per mensem, and lasts rather less than half the year. Trades connected with the port fluctuate, but there is no time of the year when the port is without shipping, either loading or unloading. Nor are there many Blind-Alley Occupations, such for example as those of message boys at Home, or of light porters in biscuit factories in which boys and girls are employed for comparatively high wages at the age of thirteen or fourteen, only to be turned off, when they grow up. Casual Labour there certainly is, the organization of tally clerks and gunners of steamers in the port, is loose and wasteful in the extreme the fact that so many members of the class are paid by the number of days in which they work, which varies greatly month by month, tends to prevent regularity and thrift, as casual labour tends to do the whole world over. These have been taken at random, from among the causes predisposing to poverty, and the fact that only one of them holds generally for the community, proves the necessity of coming to the question for ourselves, and basing our methods of help on the actual conditions that obtain.

What then are the conditions that predispose to poverty among the Anglo-Indian community?

It is not necessary to labour the fact that poverty is there, the large amounts expended in charity show that there is much real poverty, and so hopeless, that it is the despair of those who have to deal with it. What are the conditions under which it comes into being? First of all, it seems to me, from some years of observation and in the absence of definite statistics, that there is a much larger proportion of poverty that is primary than in the West. In Mr. Rowntree's book on Poverty, it is estimated that of the total population of York, 9 per cent. are in a state of primary poverty, *i.e.*, a deficiency of the actual income needed to maintain physical efficiency, and 18 per

cent. in secondary poverty, *i.e.*, wasteful expenditure when the income would otherwise be sufficient for physical maintenance. That is to say, that only one-third of the poverty is due to an insufficient income. My impression is that the case is very different in Calcutta. One reason is that there is among this class a much shorter expectation of life than the average. The climate tells, there are more rampant diseases, the sanitary conditions are not so good. There are more,—many more deaths in middle age. Just when the worker is at the maturity of his powers, or the mother has a young family about her,

Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears  
And slits the thin-spun life.

But if the condition of affairs is such that many succumb in middle life, that same condition must tend to depress vitality among the whole community, and it is not only the death of the breadwinner, or of the young mother that creates poverty, but also the impaired health of those who survive. That there is a deficiency of vitality among this community may be gathered from the fact, that while among the other races in India, lunacy appears in many forms, among this community it invariably takes the form of melancholia. There is no acute mania. There are then conditions obtaining in the community that tend to a lowering of vital energy and thus predispose to poverty. One of these conditions is climate, another defective sanitation in the dwellings of the very poor. Bad nutrition in early life is probably another, but that is common to all the children of the poor, the world over, and *dal bhat* is not so much less nutritious than bread and tea. But there is another condition which applies among this community. The poorer classes in other lands, and in other communities here, have the blessing of hard manual labour, which builds up the physique. The poor Anglo-Indian has not. I cannot beg, may or not be true in the individual case. To dig I am ashamed, is the general feeling. That is his differentia,



and that is what makes the problem of his poverty so difficult. The Anglo-Indian cannot work on the lowest standard of the community and poverty comes to him at a much higher point in the scale. The problem of charity therefore comes to be, how to maintain those who have become incapable of supporting themselves on a standard which is not the lowest standard of the community in the midst of which they are. The coolie can maintain himself in comfort at a sum on which the ordinary Anglo-Indian would die. The only economic justification of a higher standard of living is a greater efficiency as members of the whole community in which they find themselves. And the economic instability of the Anglo-Indian consists in the fact that for a comparatively low grade of labour he requires a high standard of wages. The work required of a tally clerk, or of a gunner, does not in itself justify his receiving better wages than a carpenter or a mechanic.

We would say at once, judging from the organization of the West, that this state of affairs cannot continue, that either the Anglo-Indian must prove his greater use to the community, or must sink to the level of those whose standard of living is lower, but their work as efficient. It would seem that charity is devoting itself to the wholly unnecessary task of supporting the lower members of this class, on a standard of life much too high, and thus tending to prolong a condition of affairs which is economically unsound and is bound in the long run to prove too much for the efforts of charity to cope with. The explanation is to be found in the social conditions in which they live. There is another community, allied to them on one side, and that the dominant side, in religion and civilization, the temporary European residents. They are for the most part picked men, from the strongest and most virile of a section of the population. The failures of the West do not visit the East in large numbers, nor the most brilliant and conspicuous successes. The Europeans in India are not a real organized community,

they are only temporarily detached fragments of an organized community. The European labourer is unknown, and the Factory worker, and these form an integral part of the social organization. And so the Anglo-Indian when he tries to organize his life on the pattern of the European residents in India, is basing his conceptions of life on a particular class of a community whose lives are organized in a particular way. The European labourer is unknown to him, his very existence never comes within his horizon. And to organize a whole community on the basis of the lives of temporarily detached fragments of another, is to make the economic condition unsound from the start and to miss the most of what life has to give. It is to organize life on an artificial and not a real basis, it is to live a life out of harmony with the true facts of existence. The roots of the Anglo-Indian are not sufficiently deep in reality and therefore their lives tend to be stunted and depressed. He starts from a false position and his life is spent among shadows. He fails, of one thing, to distinguish between necessities and luxuries. He wishes to keep a servant, if he possibly can, and he does not realize that the proportion of people keeping servants in England is less than 30 per cent. of the entire population. To those who have seen the biting hardships of the poor in other lands, there seems an air of unreality about the lives of the poor of this community. It does not seem real poverty. It occasions a strange lack of a sense of the value of things. But just because of this it is the more hopeless. I knew a man once who had a sick child. Instead of sending that child to hospital, where it would have had all the care and attention that modern science can provide, and all for nothing, he decided that he could not allow it to be tended by strangers and decided to nurse it himself. In so doing he was absent without leave from his work and so lost his employment. The child was ill for one month and the father's income was only about Rs. 100 a month. The visits of the doctor and the food and

medicines for the child cost him much more than that. He was out of work for a month after and his wife and his other children suffered. And he plunged himself into debt so deeply that he will be most of his life paying it off, with the high rate of interest that the poor must pay. It is the result of artificial and unsound economic conditions, that judgments on reality are out of proportion and reveal often the fundamental falseness of the basis on which their lives are organized. The fundamental fact to be grasped, if we would understand the conditions under which the Anglo-Indian poor come into being, is that there are two collections of persons, one of which consists of temporarily detached fragments of a large and complete organization and another which should be an organization complete in itself. But the latter strives to emulate the first, forgetful of the fact that their social organization is incomplete and so finds itself out of touch with reality. And this, I need hardly add, is a condition predisposing to poverty. But there are other ways in which this symbiosis, to use a term borrowed from Natural Science, tends towards poverty on the part of individuals of the one class. It obscures the fact that they are two different classes and so puts no burden on the upper class of the permanent residents, for the help of their own poor and the better organizations of their lives. Who are the persons who give to charity and the persons who benefit by their giving? I do not forget that much of the money in the great Charity Trusts were given in times past by members of the community, but nowadays who give to charity? Roughly, those who give of money and of time are members of the class of temporary residents, those who receive are the lower class of permanent residents. The upper class of permanent residents neither give nor receive. What would happen to the Charities of Calcutta, the Homes for the poor and the various charitable institutions, if all the wealthy persons in Calcutta were either Hindus or Mahomedans. This aloofness is a source of danger to the community in

many ways. Parasitism is often the degeneration of selfishness as well as the selfishness of degeneration. And for a community to be dependent on another for its charity is not sound. But there is this further weakness. That for those who are plausible, and I need hardly say that they are not the real poor, there is money easily to be had. Riches is largely a matter of inequality, and to the man who can live on less than twenty rupees a month, a ten rupee note means half a month's income. But to the man in an office, it may mean nothing at all. Thus a tale of pity may succeed in getting help, quite out of proportion to what should be given. Let me take an illustration from medical science. In certain cases of accident or disease, it is sometimes necessary to inject a certain quantity of saline fluid into the blood. Now if this be done suddenly, the valves of the heart are unable to work and death ensues. It must be done gradually if it is to be done at all. In the same way self-respect is killed by the ease with which money can be obtained by begging. I knew one boy who went round the offices of Calcutta with the story that he had obtained employment but needed help till he got his first month's wages. He was plausible, he looked pathetic, he had a winning voice and manner, and he was highly successful. For a time he was making about Rs. 200 a month by this. If he was working he would have not been making much over twenty. The temptation was too much for him. He might have made a useful member of society. Now he has grown up into a loafer and a social parasite. These seem to me to be the general conditions that tend to create poverty among members of the Anglo-Indian community generally. There are special conditions obtaining in Calcutta which complicate the problem. The lowest class, the inhabitant of the *kintals*, the East Indian, seems to be an inhabitant mainly of the three Presidency towns. He shades off indefinitely into the Goanese and the Indian Christian of other nationalities, who, of course, are a separate community, with problems and an organization.

at least in embryo, of their own. Then, again, as a great commercial city, Calcutta tends to draw the hangers-on of labour to itself. Calcutta, as a Jesuit priest once said to me, is a *refugium peccatorum*. When a man on the railway up-country quarrels with his superior, when a man for a fault of his own, or merely to "better his prospects" leaves his work, he comes down to Calcutta, which thus has not only the poor of its own making, but the poor of all the mofussil as well. It may be said that its charities attract as well as its opportunities for work. There are men who would be grieved above all thinking if they got regular work to do, who come to Calcutta, ostensibly to seek for work, but really to live as parasites on charity. When they have exhausted the charity of those who listen to their piteous tales they go on to another town or tour the mofussil. Only to turn up in Calcutta after a twelvemonth or so, 'quite sure that those from whom they begged before will have forgotten them, and that there will be many others, such is the changing life of European Calcutta, who will listen with sympathy and will not turn them out of their offices without some help. These are of the poor who are not always with us, but their temporary presence is demoralizing. They teach apt and willing pupils and tend to complicate, what is in all conscience, a complicated problem enough already. I am aware that all this must have seemed to some readers far from the point, a mere profitless and barren discussion of matters that everybody knows already, but I hope, if the Editor does not put a sudden stop to my loquacity, to point out in a future issue, what the bearing of these considerations are on the problem of charity in our midst.

JOHN MACRAE.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, ANNUAL REPORT, 1908-9.** (Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1912, pp. VI—231.)

Of all sorts of literature it might be supposed that annual reports should be issued yearly and very soon after the years they report upon. This handsome volume, in this respect at least, is in a category by itself and a short study of its pages makes plain how the spare time of four years is necessary to produce such plates and such a text. So far as the latter is concerned it may be said that a report appearing at the close of the year in question, while it might have a certain interest and value, would not give evidence of comparison and research and could not command the respect of scholars as this is sure to do. No fewer than fifty-seven plates, some of them of much beauty, and about fifty smaller illustrations elucidate and complete the text, to which different writers contribute different articles. The first thirty-one pages record the work of conservation carried on ; the next eighty that of Exploration and Research, while ninety pages are taken up with Epigraphy. No less than twenty-five pages give earlier Archæological Reports published under official authority, of which one observes that the earliest are those for the years 1862-63-64-65 by A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.

As to conservation Dr. Vogel briefly indicates what has been done in the opening pages, and as one reads through the articles that follow on the Temple of Bhitargaon, on the work in the Madras Presidency and in Burma, one feels that although much excellent work is being done, it is far too limited. No good is done by lamenting the Philistinism of the past,—the Government can atone for that only in one way. It can spend crores of rupees on modern buildings which it suddenly finds it can with difficulty utilize, but is penurious to a degree when called on for ample funds to preserve the great works of the past. Every year makes this work more difficult and more costly and yet a prosperous Government assigns to it funds that are far from sufficient.

One of the larger articles and one of the most interesting narrates the excavations by Mr. D. B. Spooner at Shah-Ji-Ki-Dheri near Peshawar. Following out the suggestion of M. Fourcher in his "Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhara," that the two large mounds outside the Ganj Gate of Peshawar City agreed closely with the account by Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, of the great stupa of King Kanishka, excavations were begun on 16th January 1908. The successes and disappointments are admirably told and illustrated. The great discovery of the year, the Golden Relic Casket at Amaravati, is described with a wealth of illustration by Mr. A. Rea. A series of very beautiful temples from Osia, a small village thirty-two miles from Jodhpur, are figured on pages 100-115. Mr. Bhandakar, after a full description of these, sums up thus :—"Most of the temples are Vaishnava. But it is curious that there is not a single temple extant at Osia where the ten incarnations of Vishnu are sculptured on the door sides or any part of the temple as we find them at Sirpur and other ancient sites. We do, however, find some of the incarnations carved on the outside walls of the shrine or the terraces. They are Varaha, Narasimha, Trivikrama, Krishna-Balarama and Buddha. The last is important, for it enables us to assert that Buddha had been included in the Brahmanic pantheon as early as the 9th Century. . . . It is of great interest that here the images of even Krishna and Balarama are met with."

From the articles on Epigraphy we would call attention to that on the Garuda Pillar of Bhesnagar in the Gwalior State. This was observed by General Cunningham in 1877 and from its style and from the fact of its being crowned with a palm-leaf ornament, he concluded that it belonged to the time of the Imperial Guptas. He found it to be covered with a crust of red lead, smeared on it by worshippers, but as the local priests assured him that there was no inscription on it and as the crust could be removed only with great difficulty he gave up his search. Mr. Marshall in 1909 with the help of Mr. Luke, the State Engineer, had the red lead removed and found that the pillar was of a date much earlier than the Gupta period. "It is a Garudadhvaja set up in honour of Vasudeva by Heliodoros . . . who came from Taxila in the reign of the great King Antialkidas." This King ruled in the Kabul valley and the Punjab about the middle of the second century B.C. and his coins have been found at Begharam in Afghanistan and as far south as Sonapat north of Delhi.

To those who have a special interest in Buddhism the "Notes on Bodh Gaya" have a far-reaching importance. It was written by

the late Dr. Bloch and shows that the Buddhists selected the pipal tree as a sacred object of their religion merely on account of its previous sanctity and not for any special reason of its connection with Gautama Buddha. He does not question that the "enlightenment" occurred at Uruvela or Bodh Gaya, but he is not willing to believe that Buddha pointed to a pipal tree as the very spot where it had taken place.

Buddhist literature giving the history of the *bodhi* seems to confirm this view as also what we know of the readiness with which lower forms of worship are carried over into a higher religion. Hiaen Thsang informs us that Asoka and his queen strove hard to destroy the Bodhi tree, and the religious teaching of several of the edicts is such as to make it easy for us to understand the king's enmity to "tree-worship."

To the student of history and religion every article has value, not of a speculative character only, but as helping to lay foundations fast and sure.

J. W.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS.—By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,  
B.A. (British India Press, Bombay, pp. 386).

This is a collection of thirty papers on anthropological subjects, read at various times during the past twenty-five years before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Eighteen of them are on strictly Parsi subjects, four have more or less bearing on Parsi customs and eight relate to general subjects of Indian interest. The writer has been for years Secretary to the Anthropological Society of Bombay and his many publications afford proof of his deep interest in such anthropological subjects as are here treated. This is but another proof of the value of such societies in stimulating men to observe and record customs and folklore which tend to disappear before the culture of the West. Much has been written about the Parsis, but it is almost certain that in several of these articles obscure customs are recorded and explained that are new to the anthropologist. The writer is at his best in such subjects as "The Dhangurs and the Dhavars of Mahableshwar," "Parsee Life in Parsee Songs. Part I," "The Thakurs of Matheran" and on "Astodans of Persia and Turkistan." He gives evidence of wide reading on the last named subject, while on the former he writes from personal observation and after more or less scientific inquiry. An Index—none too full for such a book—concludes the volume.

Several of the papers may be termed popular, and this fact may be urged as a reason for re-publishing them. Most students of science



at the present day fully recognize the value of such papers as they are published by the various learned societies, but it is very doubtful whether it is wise to bring them out in separate book form. Numbers of such societies and especially their secretaries should see to it that their records are as complete as possible, have the fullest possible indexes on scientific principles and should practise a liberal exchange with other societies. It is only thus that the really valuable matter in this and such like volumes can be made available. Indexing has become a science nowadays and learned and interesting papers are not buried in the records of societies.\* The articles are entered in the appropriate journals and if of sufficient value are briefly set forth so that every student of the special subject can refer to them if necessary. A book like this reaches a very small and unimportant public compared with the army of students throughout the world who scan indexes and digests every day for light on their particular subjects of study.

It is worthy of note that the writer, in addition to his knowledge of Persian literature, is able to quote freely from Herodotus and other Greek writers, drawing comparisons between the customs there recorded and those of the present day. The information drawn from Herodotus is naturally most illuminating and necessary wherever the Parsis are concerned. But while some of the great modern authorities are mentioned they are so little utilized that one wonders whether Mr. Modi has not wilfully neglected them and their far-reaching conclusions. It may be that the literature of the great ancients has exercised such a spell upon him as to make him loath to deal with the more accurate but harsher language of modern men of science.

J. W.

**VEDIC INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES.** By A. A. Macdonell, M. A., Ph. D., and Arthur Berriedale Keith, M. A., D. C. L. (London : John Murray) Two volumes.

One hardly expects an index of any kind to be so sumptuously bound and beautifully printed as are these two handsome volumes, and the contents are worthy of the form, or, rather, perhaps it should be said, the form is worthy of the contents. The book will prove a veritable mine of information to the students of Vedic times and the early literature of India, and the longer notes, at least, will provide matter of intense interest even for the general reader and the less profound scholar. The writers are specialists of the first rank and their conclusions are worthy of the utmost confidence.

Dr. Macdonell explains that his original intention was to furnish the historical material of Vedic literature so far as this could be grouped round proper names. He found, however, that this would give too meagre a result, and decided, with the help of Dr. Keith, to provide a comprehensive work on Vedic antiquities. He extends the list of proper names so as to include those of mountains, rivers and countries, and supplies notes also on all matters connected with Vedic domestic life, ritual and social practices and economic conditions. He has not treated of religious subjects in the present work except in so far as these are inextricably bound up with social and political life.

The chronological limits of this work are from 1200 to 500 B.C.—the generally accepted limits of the period which can properly be called Vedic. The dictionary method of treatment has been adopted, the order of topics following the order of the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. To avoid any inconvenience which this might cause to readers altogether unacquainted with Sanskrit, a copious English index has been provided as well as a Sanskrit one. A map of the country, as it appeared in Vedic times, is supplied, but the writers do not claim that the boundaries delineated are anything more than conjectural.

The most interesting group of notes are those connected with the subject of caste. There is both a general discussion under the heading *Varna* and special discussions of the exact meaning of *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* and *Sudra*. The foundation distinction is that between the Aryan invaders and the Sudras. Ritual and military needs would lead to a gradual distinction between Brahmins and Kshatriyas, and probably also the people would come to take less and less interest in affairs of defence and administration and would settle down to more ordinary and peaceful occupations, thus giving rise to the caste of Vaisyas. It is admitted that in Vedic times the Brahmin caste is already separate from the Kshatriya caste and claims superiority over it. The most prominent Brahmins were the Purohits who were both the religious advisers and general counselors of the Kings. The occupations of the Brahmins were mainly of an intellectual character, but there is evidence to show that they engaged in more immediately practical occupations as well. The term Kshatriya originally signified merely nobility, but was extended to include the retainers of the nobility. It never becomes quite so general as to include all warriors. The limits of the Vaisya caste are not so well defined as those of the two upper castes; probably the reason of this is the immense variety of their occupation together with the fact that, being in a subordinate position, they were

not able to assert the peculiar privileges which contribute to the rigidity of caste.

The general conclusions of our authors is, that "the caste system is one that has progressively developed, and that it is not legitimate to see in the Rigveda the full caste system even of the Yajur Veda; but at the same time it is difficult to doubt that the system is already well on the way to general acceptance." One characteristic of the later caste system is almost entirely lacking,—there was almost no trace of the belief that impurity could be communicated by contact with persons of inferior castes.

Under the headings of *Pati*, *Sati* and *Stri*, much useful information is given as to the position of women in the Vedic period. Everything seems to indicate that child marriage is unknown and the re-marriage of widows is permitted under certain restrictions. As to general position the conclusion come to is that "the poetical ideal of the family was decidedly high, and there is no reason to doubt that it was often actually fulfilled. The wife on her marriage was at once given an honoured position in the house. She is emphatically mistress in her husband's home." By the time we reach the Brahmanas there are indications of deterioration in the position of women, one indication of this being the appearance of the rule requiring a wife to eat after her husband. The custom of *Sati* does not appear anywhere in the Rigveda, and the regulations for the re-marriage of widows are proof positive that there were widows who could be re-married. The seclusion of women is also unknown in the Rigveda. "The maiden may be assumed to have grown up in her father's house, enjoying free intercourse with the youth of the village and sharing in the work of the house. Education was not denied to women, at any rate in certain cases, for we hear in the Upanishads of women who could take no unimportant part in disputations on philosophical topics."

One other note we may refer to, that on *Mamsa*, in which the question of the eating of flesh is discussed. This practice seems to have been regarded as quite regular in the Vedic period. It is forbidden only if a man is performing a vow and not on general grounds. No special disgust is expressed even at the slaying and eating of cows though there are traces, as early as the Rigveda, that this animal was on the way to special sanctity. Our authors explain this by mythological considerations and also assign the practical reason that the value of the cow was so great for other purposes besides eating that this in itself is sufficient to account for its sanctity. The general aversion to animal food may also be due to a growing prevalence of the belief in transmigration.

It is impossible to refer to other points of interest in this most valuable book which should form an exceedingly welcome addition to the library of anyone interested in the subjects of which it treats.

W. S. U.

**INTENSIVE FARMING IN INDIA.**—By John Kenny.  
(Madras: Higginbotham and Co.)

This is a collection of papers which have been published in various journals. The general aim is to show that the Indian agriculturalist is not sufficiently alive to the value of artificial enrichment of the soil, and is gradually impoverishing it. Expensive artificial manures, however, cannot be purchased except by co-operation, and this leads the author to devote the first fifty pages of his book to a discussion of the value of agricultural banks, and a weighing of the respective claims of the Schulze-Delitsch and the Raffaisen system. The decision is in favour of the latter. The remainder of the book is taken up with careful treatment of questions relating to the value of different kinds of artificial manures as applied to the various kinds of crops which it is possible for the ryot to grow.

## MAGAZINES.

### THE "MOSLEM WORLD."

The current number of the *Moslem World* contains an interesting article by Rev. W. R. W. Gardner on the meaning of the word *Jihad*. He argues against the contention that the word implies simply wholeheartedness or earnestness in any kind of undertaking and has no special application to warfare. He points out that the attitude of the generality of Moslems during the recent war with Italy hardly bears out the claim that a *Jihad* is authorised only when Islam is threatened as a religious faith, and comes to the conclusion that any war in which a non-Moslem power is the aggressor, must inevitably be regarded by Moslems as involving on their part *Jihad*. There are also interesting articles upon "The New Woman in Persia" by Miss A. W. Stocking and upon "Islam and Backward Races" by Dr. Gottfried Simon.

### THE "MONIST."

The place of honour in the *Monist* for the third quarter of 1912 is occupied by an article by the Hon. Bertrand Russell on

the "Philosophy of Bergson." The first part is mainly expository and brings into prominence Bergson's distinction between Intellect and Intuition. The division according to Mr. Russell is like *Sandford* and *Merton*, intuition being the good boy and intellect the bad boy. Or intellect "may be compared to a carver, but it has the peculiarity of imagining that the chicken always was the separate pieces into which the carving knife divides it." The criticism in the second part of the article is chiefly directed against Bergson's theory that the intellect always involves spatial forms. In particular Mr. Russell objects to the doctrine that number always requires an extended image. He points out that in listening to the strokes of a bell there is no logical necessity which compel us to arrange them in an imaginary space. The idea that this is necessary is due to a personal idiosyncrasy of Bergson's, *viz.*, his strong visualising tendency and not to a general mode of human thought. Mr. Russell strongly opposes Bergson's rejection of teleology and concludes that he presents a pleasing picture of the universe only to those for whom activity without purpose seems a sufficient good.

An article by Mr. J. N. Leuba on "Psychotherapeutic Cults" is of great interest. He points out that these cults owe their influence to the adroit use which they make of certain discoveries of modern science in regard to the influence of mind over matter. They also depend to a large extent upon a nontheistic philosophy which is closely akin to modern idealism and is constantly merging into pantheism. The denial of personality of God is a prominent tenet. Mrs. Eddy, *e.g.*, speaks of God as a Principle rather than a person. This principle has no intention, and therefore may be utilised by human will in any desired direction. There seems to be no answer from the side of Christian science to Mr. Leuba's suggestion that "it seems almost incredible that one professing to be a Christian should reach the impersonality of the divine nature."

THE "THEOSOPHICAL PATH." For August. Katherine Tingley, Editor, published at the International Theosophical Headquarters, Point Loma, California.

The opening article, "Theosophy the Key to Ancient Symbolism," is a valuable contribution to the study of the ancients, which at the present day is attracting more and more students. The writer, H. T. Edge, B.A. (Cantab), takes issue with Andrew Lang, and advances the following conclusion: "All those science

among the Gods which have been described as solar myths or symbols of dawn and spring may be more reasonably explained as survivals of Mystery dramas. For thereby we ascribe to these symbols an origin whose importance is commensurate with the importance which is attached to them."

In "Occultism, the A B C of Life," we have the following statement given as the key: "At the root of all attainment stands the Man himself, . . . and at the root of the Man stands faith in his own Divinity, giving the true pride and expelling vanity and egoism, which are weaknesses."

Kenneth Morris, the Welsh poet, contributes a charming sketch, "Sir Walter Scott and Abbotsford." "We may call him a benefactor, because he poured out that great tide of prose and verse to feed the fires of youth, and to feed them cleanly." "Abbotsford," he says, "is a Waverley Novel in stone and mortar."

The Work of the International Theosophical League, by a member, is of interest as showing a phase of the practical work that is so distinctive a feature of Point Loma activities.

No notices of this magazine would be complete without mention of the beautiful illustrations which always form a delightful and noteworthy feature, and which in this issue are fully up to their high standard of excellence.

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The *Theosophical Path* (Point Loma, Calif., Katherine Tingley, Editor) for September contains several articles of exceptional interest. As the official publication of the Theosophical Movement, dealing with the advanced questions of the day, religious, philosophical and scientific, it is to be classed among the serious magazines and it is also most attractive by reason of its typography and illustrations and also for its articles of general interest to the reader.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.**

### **GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.**

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**Accounts relating to Trade by Land of British India with Foreign countries, for the month of April 1912, compared with corresponding period of years 1910 and 1911. Government of India.**

**Accounts relating to Trade by Land of British India with Foreign countries, for the four months, April to July 1912, compared with corresponding period of years 1910 and 1911. Government of India.**

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**Report on the Administration of the Department of Agriculture of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year ending 30th June 1912. Government of the United Provinces.**

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**"Britain's Dilemma."** By Mr. M. de P. Webb.

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The Hindustan Review. November 1912, December 1912 and Behar Congress Number. The Editor.

The Indian Antiquary. August, October and November 1912. The Editor.

The Indian Review. September and December 1912. The Editor.

The Monist. October 1912. The Editor.

The Moslem World. January 1913. The Editor.

The Review. September 1912. The Editor.

The Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine. October 1912. The Editor.

The Theosophical Path. August, September and October 1912. The Editor.

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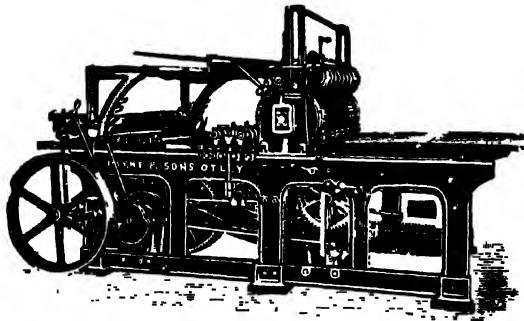
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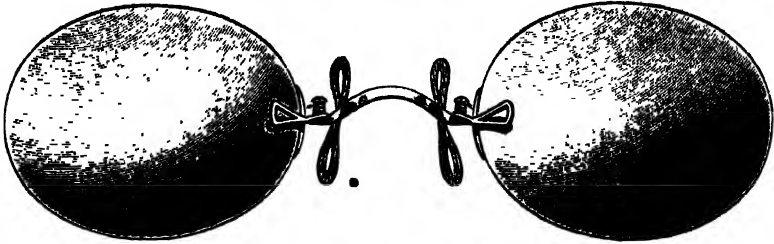
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**Social Conditions in Calcutta. II.**

**By John MacRae.**

# Press Notices of "The Calcutta Review."

## "The Empire," Calcutta.

THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW" is a classic in the periodical literature of the past century. Founded in 1844, it has gone through many vicissitudes, and was for a considerable time in a state of suspended animation. Recently, however, as we announced at the time, it passed into the hands of the energetic proprietors of the Edinburgh Press and, from the beginning of the present year, it emerges in a new and brilliant *avatar*. The first number of the new series stamps it as a magazine which will bear comparison with the best of its congeners in any part of the world. It is beautifully printed, to begin with. Those who remember the shoddy get-up of the *Review* in the old days cannot but be struck by this notable change. In its present garb it recalls the typographical and general productive excellence of the "Hibbert Journal." When we come to the literary contents we find them striking the highest note that has yet been sounded in English periodical literature in this country. There are less than a dozen articles, but all of them are of transcendent interest, profoundly thoughtful, and phrased with rare felicity. Perhaps the most notable article is Dr. MacNicol's "Shakespeare: The Last Phase," which seems to have been originally a lecture, possibly delivered to Poona students. When lectures are reproduced as articles in a magazine, we have a feeling that they should be printed as such. The atmosphere of the lecture differs subtly from that of the essay, and any attempt to combine the two impairs the general effect. But in spite of this disadvantage, no reader of this brilliant excursus can fail to be impressed by the swiftness of its thought, the sureness of its analysis, the breadth of its range and the graceful ease of its style. The general proposition—that Shakespeare underwent sore mental and moral tribulation, which is reflected in his tragedies, and finally emerged into an atmosphere of victory and calm—is familiar enough. But Dr. MacNicol handles this well-worn theme with a freshness, an insight, and a capacity to suggest the "wide spaces of his (Shakespeare's) spirit" which absorb the reader's attention, and act like a tonic upon the mind. The other contents of the *Review* are all of the highest plane. Dr. Henderson, the famous Sociologist who visited Calcutta during the present cold weather, contributes a thesis on "The Direction of Social Advance." As a pendant to this may be found the first of a series of articles by the Rev. John MacRae on "Social Conditions in Calcutta," which he treats with the ease and interest of the man who has mastered his subject. Other articles are Mrs. Macpherson's charming "Life of a Mem Sahib in the Mofussil," Mr. K. J. Saunders' acute "Thoughts on Friedrich Nietzsche," Mr. I. C. Mathew's "Early Buddhism in the West" and "India in the Reviews" by Verax. The Rev. W. S. Urquhart, who occupies, we believe, an editorial relation to the *Review*, leads off with a most interesting picture of "The Calcutta Review in 1844," and there are also "Reviews of Books" quite in the "Hibbert" style. Altogether the re-birth of the "CALCUTTA REVIEW" is one of the most notable and encouraging signs of our times.—*Empire*, 7th February 1913, Calcutta.

## "The Statesman," Calcutta.

THE first number of the New Series of the "CALCUTTA REVIEW" promises well. It is handsome in appearance and is printed in bold and artistic type. One of the most interesting articles in the issue is Mr. Urquhart's retrospect of the history of the *Review* itself, which, as everyone knows, was founded in 1844 by Sir John Kaye, with Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Duff Captain Marsh and Mr. Marshman as his associates. Captain Marsh was the impetuous fire-eater of the group and eventually withdrew because he could not repress the vigour of his pen. Sir Henry Lawrence often contributed two or three articles to a single number; but his writings, though weighty and wise, were marred by a lack of literary skill. It is to be hoped that in its present form the *Review* will regain something of its earlier fame. The paper by the Rev. John MacRae on "Social Conditions in Calcutta" will undoubtedly attract attention by its obviously well-informed analysis of the problem of social relief in this city. "A Mem Sahib in the Mofussil" is a graphic account of the pleasures and pains of rural life in Bihar. There are also papers on "Nietzsche," on "Early Buddhism in the West" and on "Shakespeare's Last Phase." Professor Henderson, the Barrows Lecturer, writes on "The Direction of Social Advance," while "India in the Reviews" is an attack by an anonymous writer on the incompetence with which Indian affairs are discussed in the Home Reviews.—*Statesman*, Calcutta.

## "The Indian Daily News," Calcutta.

THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW" for January 1913 begins a new series with fresh hopes and fresh ideals and in the first article there is a *résumé* of the history of the *Review* which was born in 1844 and was intended to follow in the steps of the greater Reviews, the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* those extinct volcanoes. Few people who do not frequent a library know of the immense fund of information about India which lies in the 140 or so volumes of the "CALCUTTA REVIEW." All with ambition in those early days sought to air their views

in print, not with the modern thought of advertisement, but really in the desire to spread knowledge. Now, perhaps, the desire to spread knowledge is the prerogative of a Carnegie. But it was then the ideal of the first editor of the "CALCUTTA REVIEW,"—those were the days of Brougham and the Editor led off with "our first desire is to awaken interest, to induce a thirst for information and finally to teach the application of it to its most beneficial uses." "We call upon all men to declare what they know." Well Aristotle said the same thing, "having lamps you will distribute them to others," see the frontispiece of some of Whewell's books. Mr. Urquhart says it again to usher in the new series. And we wish him all success. We, too, said much the same on 15th August 1908, when the *Indian Daily News* went down to two pice, and we wish him a similar success.—*Indian Daily News*, 7th February 1913.

### "The Englishman," Calcutta.

It is hardly possible to recognize the "CALCUTTA REVIEW" in its new form. It can now compare very favourably with any of the best Reviews published in England and America as far as the general get-up is concerned. And judging from the contents, the articles are also now by no means of the dry-as-dust order. They deal with interesting topics such as the Direction of Social Advance, which Professor Charles R. Henderson, of the Chicago University, contributes to its pages, and the "Life of a Memsahib in the Mofussil, written by Mrs. T. Stewart Macpherson, M. A., of Purulia. It contains over a hundred pages of readable matter.—*Englishman*, 6th February 1913.

### "The Times of India," Bombay.

THERE started in January a new series of the "CALCUTTA REVIEW," and the first number is proof that the present editor means to raise the *Review* if he can to its former greatness. The first article, dealing with the *Review* in the year of its foundation, 1844, shows what that by-gone greatness was. Sir John Kaye was the first editor, and amongst those who succeeded him in the editorial chair were Dr. Alexander Duff, Dr. Thomas Smith, Dr. George Smith, Meredith Townsend and Sir Richard Temple, all of whom contributed many articles. Amongst other contributors to early numbers, the most famous as well as the most frequent were Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir H. Durand. Of late the *Review* has been less prominent and influential; but it is now announced that an attempt will be made to conduct it on the lines of the best Home quarterlies. "It will endeavour to keep in touch with present movements in Philosophy, Science, Art, Archaeology, History, Architecture, Economics, Sociology and Theology, and while treating these subjects very frequently from a purely general point of view, will constantly give special prominence to phases of life and thought which are of immediate interest to those whose working days are being spent or have been spent in India." The articles in the January number are not wholly concerned with Indian subjects. For example, Professor Henderson, of the University of Chicago, writes on "The Direction of Social Advance." He has recently visited India on a lecturing tour and, though he does not pretend to be competent to foretell the future, he suggests that the direction of social advance in India must be something after this kind:—"The educated men and women of India, losing nothing of the splendid heritage of their ancient culture, will surely give their daughters the key to the treasures of science and art; will purify their worship of all that suggests the merely animal, the cruel, the devilish; will help their brethren of lowest castes to rise in the scale of manhood; will accept modern methods of medical art and mitigate the diseases which torture and destroy the ignorant and hopeless; and will join their friends of the West in promoting peace, order, goodwill, righteousness in all the world." Mrs. Stewart Macpherson has contributed a good article on "The Life of a Memsahib in the Mofussil" intended apparently more for ladies in England than for those in this country; but in spite of that, it is a description of the trials and joys of mofussil life that many in this country will enjoy reading. Mr. J. C. Matthew writes on "Early Buddhism in the West" and "Verax," in a brief article called "India in the Reviews," exposes some of the errors contained in a recent article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which puts forward the case for a Royal Viceroy of India. An examination of the problem for charity among the Anglo-Indian community by Mr. John MacRae, together with reviews of books, concludes the Indian part of this *Review*. It will be seen that a fairly wide ground is covered by these few articles. Other contributions to the number are "Shakespeare: The Last Phase," by Dr. MacNicol and "Some Thoughts upon Friedrich Nietzsche," by Mr. K. J. Saunders.—*Times of India*, 19th March 1913.

### "Capital," Calcutta.

THE first number of the new series of the "CALCUTTA REVIEW" was issued last week and we may say at once that it fulfils the promise of the prospectus issued by Mr. Monro when he became proprietor in the middle of last year. There is a decided improvement all round, in the format, the printing, but especially in the quality of the literary contents. Comparisons are odious, but a comparison between the number for January 1912 and the number

for January 1913 would be perfectly hideous—for the former. There are eight articles in the new number, out of which six are by writers hailing from the north of the Tweed; but it must not be inferred that there is a surfeit of porridge and piety. A spirit of earnestness pervades them all, but that does not militate against interest and charm; on the contrary, Mrs. Stewart Macpherson's description of the "Life of a Memsahib in the Mofussil" is the most delightful we have ever read on the subject and the sweet seriousness of the outlook conveys a challenge not easy to avoid. If there is a monotony of nationality of authors it is certainly compensated by the variety of their wares. Religion, philosophy, history, sociology and literature have intelligent and well-equipped exponents; even journalism of the militant character is kept in countenance. We have read the *Review* from title-page to colophon with pleasure and instruction. We congratulate Mr. Monro on his success and accept it as an earnest of still higher achievement. The *Review* should find its way into every cultured home in India.—*Capital*, 13th February 1913.

## "Indian and Eastern Engineer," Calcutta.

THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW" has a fine record in the seventy years of its history, and it has we trust entered upon a period of great success with the first number of a new series issued under date of January by the Calcutta General Publishing Company, 300, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. The number contains a wealth of good things which should appeal to a wide and varied community, while the typographical standard is of the very best and particularly creditable to the Printers. The annual subscription post free in India is Rs. 15.—*Indian and Eastern Engineer*, February 1913.

## "Railways," Calcutta.

NEARLY seventy years have passed since the foundation of that time-honoured institution the "CALCUTTA REVIEW," which was first published in May 1844. The well-known writer on Indian affairs, Sir John Kaye, was the leader of the enterprise and the first Editor. With him were associated Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Duff, Captain Marsh and Mr. Marshman. Sir John Kaye himself was none too hopeful of the success of the project as shown by his own words when he said: "It had occurred to me, then residing in Calcutta, to establish a *Review*, similar in form and character to the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly* and the *Westminster Review*, but devoted entirely to Indian subjects and questions. It was a bold and seemingly hopeless experiment and I expected it would last a few numbers and then die. Its success astonished no one more than myself. That it did succeed is in no small measure attributable to the strenuous support of Henry Lawrence." The "CALCUTTA REVIEW," however, like many other institutions of late years, had got into a groove, not to say rut, out of which it has now been lifted by a change of proprietorship. The first number of the new issue is now before me and affords a welcome change. The new Editor evidently knows his business and has provided matter for readers who are not content with the dry-as-dust style so typical of old established magazines. The first article is a most interesting disquisition on the "CALCUTTA REVIEW" as it appeared in 1844 and is from the pen of Mr. W. S. Urquhart of the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta. There is next an able article on the Direction of Social Advance by Professor Henderson of Chicago which is racy of new thought. Shakespeare: The Last Phase by Dr. Macnicol contains matter on the great poet worth reading. The Life of a Memsahib in the Mofussil by Mrs. Macpherson, M.A., is a bright description of Indian life from the ladies' point of view. Mr. K. J. Saunders, B.A., deals with the philosophy of Nietzsche whom he likens to Swami Vivekananda and condemns both. Quite right! Both were admirers of the megalomaniac. Mr. J. C. Mathew, M.A., writes of Early Buddhism in the West, and if he is right in thinking that that negative so-called religion ever had a chance of penetrating Europe, we may congratulate ourselves on an escape from a soul-deadening superstition. Social Conditions in Calcutta are dealt with by Mr. John MacRae, M.A., as a problem for charity among the Anglo-Indian Community.—*Railways*.

## "The Indian Mirror," Calcutta.

THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW" is the oldest literary periodical in India, and its past is as full of interest as that of Calcutta itself. The *Review* was founded in 1844 by Sir John Kaye, with Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Duff, Captain Marsh and Mr. Marshman as his associates. The list of its contributors contains the names of distinguished administrators and literary men, and some of the contributions are relied on as an authority on questions of historic interest. The *Review* has just undergone a pleasant metamorphosis, and we have no doubt that in its new form it will command the same position as it did in its balcyon days. Indeed, in its present get-up, it compares favourably with the best reviews published in England and America. The opening article of the present (January) number is an interesting retrospect of the *Review* itself by Mr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A. The Rev. John MacRae, M.A., deals with the problem for charity among the Anglo-Indian Community while Mrs. T. S. Stewart Macpherson, M.A., of Purulia, gives a delightful symposium of the "Life of a Memsahib in the Mofussil." The *Review* is printed in bold and artistic type and its 108 pages are brimful of enjoyable reading.—*Indian Mirror*, Calcutta.



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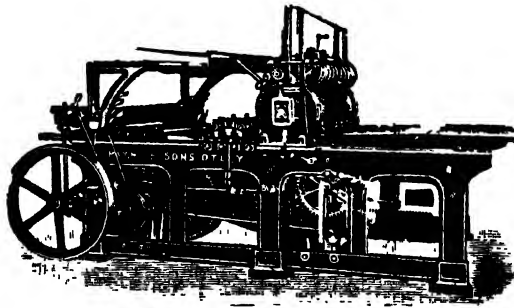
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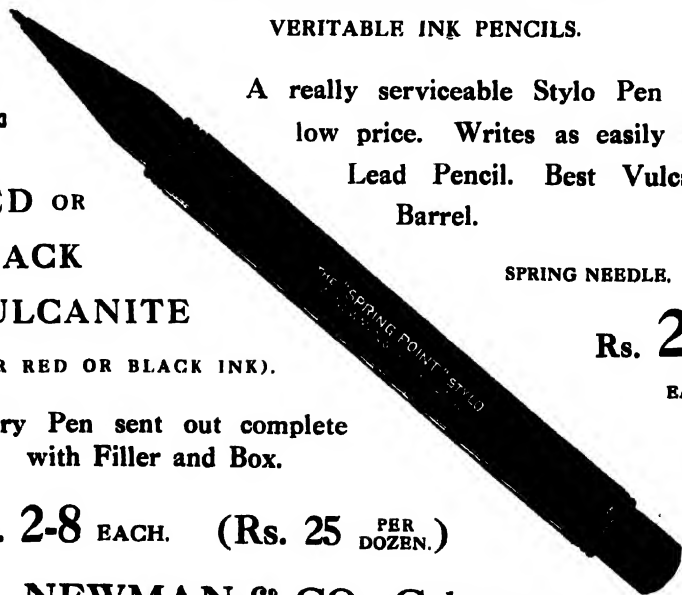
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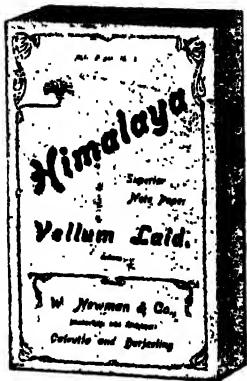
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

N<sup>o</sup>. 272, APRIL 1913.

## THE DOMICILED COMMUNITY IN INDIA AND THE SIMLA EDUCATION CONFERENCE

BY W. H. ARDEN WOOD, M.A.

THE term "The Domiciled Community" is, by an abuse of words, generally employed in India to signify that section of the permanent population which consists of persons of pure European descent, or of mixed European and Asiatic descent, whose habits and modes of life are European. Thus understood the term has a certain convenience, for it denotes a body of persons distinguishable by their origin and circumstances from the rest of the inhabitants of India. It includes the man of pure European descent who has been born and bred in India, or who has settled in the country and made it his home. It includes the Eurasian or Anglo-Indian, as well as those of mixed European and Asiatic descent to whom the designation Eurasian or Anglo-Indian would be refused by many who consider the term "Eurasian" to mean an ultimate British origin on the father's side, and no admixture of non-European blood that is not Indian. It excludes the European whose circumstances clearly mark him out as belonging to the temporary European population, even though, as frequently happens, he may actually have been born in India. It excludes the Indian Christian whether he has adopted European habits and modes of life or not.



It is not easy to determine accurately the numerical strength of the domiciled community. Its numbers have been variously estimated, and sometimes greatly exaggerated. The census returns for 1911, give, under the heading 'European and allied Races,' the number of British subjects, but do not distinguish between those who are temporarily resident in India, and those who are domiciled in India. In 1911 the number of British subjects was 185,434. Of this number 77,875 belonged to the British Army in India or to the Indian Army. The difference between these two figures, 107,559, gives the number of civilian Europeans. The Census Report of 1901 states that two-fifths of the civilian Europeans were born in the country. If this proportion holds good for the European population of 1911, the number of Europeans belonging by birth to the domiciled community would be approximately 43,000. The number of Anglo-Indians and other persons of mixed European and Asiatic descent in 1911 was 100,451 and the number of Armenians 1,705. Taking into consideration the British subjects not born in the country who came out to occupy subordinate positions in commerce or trade, most of whom are eventually merged in the domiciled community, and the British soldiers who have taken their discharge in India, it is probable that we shall not be far wrong if we estimate the total strength of the domiciled community as being, in round numbers, 150,000. Comparing the figures thus obtained with the figures similarly obtained from the Census Report of 1901, it appears that there has been an increase in the numbers of both of the two main constituent elements of the domiciled community: the pure European and the Anglo-Indian; but it is admitted that these figures, owing to difficulties of enumeration, are unreliable. It is, however, certain that the total strength of the community has materially increased, probably by not less than 20,000.

The welfare of this community, numerically so insignificant among the peoples of India, is, or should be, a

natter of profound concern to every Englishman. The vast majority of the members of the domiciled community are of British descent, and their interests are entirely bound up with British rule. Many of them are the descendants of men who were the pioneers of British trading and political enterprise in India. Others are descended from the soldiers that have formed for more than a century the British garrison in India, and from the British soldiers and European mercenaries of still earlier times. Many, whether of pure European or of mixed descent, are the descendants of persons who have come out from time to time to occupy subordinate positions in industry, trade, or in Government service, and have settled in the country; and the community is still being added to in this way. It is indisputable that a serious decline in the efficiency and material welfare of the domiciled community that would bring into existence a well-marked class of 'mean whites,' and largely increase the number of degraded and poverty-stricken Anglo-Indians, would be a damaging blow to British prestige, and that to permit this to happen, if it is in any way avoidable, would be a political blunder.

There seems to be little doubt that the general condition of the domiciled community is less satisfactory than it used to be. Two years ago a number of representative Europeans in all parts of India—merchants, railway officers, Government officials, clergymen, and others in a position to give a useful opinion—were consulted in this matter, as well as some leading members of the domiciled community itself. Briefly summarised the European opinion was as follows :—

'The general condition of the domiciled community is less satisfactory than it used to be. The principal reason is to be found in the increase in the number of Indians of education who, owing to the fact that they can live on much lower wages, successfully compete with the members of the community for employment by Government, and in

railways and other forms of enterprise. The poorer members of the community cannot afford the cost of good education for their boys and girls, and as the facilities for the education of Indian boys are at present greater, the competition between the two classes, owing mainly to the cheapness of the Indian material, results in the European going to the wall. The domiciled community has not advanced in education as fast as the Hindus.'

'With the advance of education and culture among the comparatively small best section of the community there has been a distinct social retrogression amongst the much more numerous poorer class. The causes of declension are (a) much keener competition of Indians for positions formerly filled successfully by Anglo-Indians, (b) the rooted aversion for manual labour, and distaste for mechanical employment, (c) early and imprudent marriages, thriftlessness, and the drink habit, (d) decreasing susceptibility to religious influences.'

'The decadence of the community is due partly to the increasing competition of educated Hindus, partly to the low standard of education, partly to the want of self-respect and the lack of moral principle in the community itself.'

'The increasing numbers of the community, and the all round increase in the expense of living, this latter being severely felt as the competition for employment is keener, and the supply exceeds demand, tend to bring about decadence. The increased difficulty of living has in no way lessened their improvident outlook on life in the matter of marriage, etc.'

'The greater cost of living, especially in the larger towns, and the increased competition of superior classes of natives; also the smaller opportunities of advancement owing to the services being divided more strictly, the subordinate classes being recruited in India and the superior classes recruited in Great Britain, have made the position of the domiciled community worse than formerly. The few places given by selection in this country generally

go to natives, either on political grounds or because of superior degrees.'

'Formerly Europeans made India their home, and as a result there was a certain feeling of unity between the Europeans and the Eurasians, which has died out in a great measure because of the European now being a mere bird of passage. That feeling helped to raise the Eurasian not merely in his own estimation, but in the eyes of his fellows. The Eurasian has had many doors of employment closed to him by Government, and this has been considered as an aspersion upon the community—give a dog a bad name and you hang him—and so it has been with the domiciled community. Appointments in commercial houses were once given to Eurasians because India was then much farther from the Home-land than it is to-day, and these appointments could not be filled by the relations and friends of those in the office as easily as they can now. The result is that appointments are only given to the Eurasians when Europeans will not take them.'

'There does not seem to have been a general rise in salaries corresponding to the undoubted rise in prices, and this bears most hardly on those whose incomes are near the poverty line. Formerly we use to hear of Eurasians who were property owners. This is now very seldom the case. Shops in the large cities seem to have a larger European staff of salesmen than formerly, and on the other side there seems to be a larger proportion of Madrassi and other natives of India employed as tally clerks and in similar positions. In Calcutta the Eurasian does not seem to have shared in the general rise of prosperity in the city. There is increasing pressure both from above and below, and the increased stringency in the means of life is reacting on the general temper and *morale* of the whole community. There are no prominent men in mercantile affairs belonging to the community as once seems to have been the case.'

‘The lack of initiative and strong purpose shown by many, if not most, of the community may be referred to a physical basis. Lack of vitality may be due to bad feeding and bad housing, and in Calcutta this is largely the case.’

The Anglo-Indian opinion was practically the same, and it was expressed in many cases with a note of not unnatural bitterness.

‘The general condition of the community is worse than it was even ten years ago. Taking the several strata of which the community is composed there are now a larger proportion in the lower ranks than formerly. The chief causes appear to be :—(a) The increased cost of living all over the country. (b) The greater competition for employment, coupled with the fact that the community is obliged to adopt a higher standard of living than the bulk of its competitors. (c) The absolute inadequacy of the salaries drawn by the bread winners of the families for the greater part of their lives. (d) The consequent inability to make any adequate provision, with the result that on the death of the bread winner whole families are launched into immediate penury. (e) Early marriages, which of course accentuate the position. (f) The want of educational facilities to enable the community generally to adapt itself to the changing conditions of life in India.’

‘The avenues of employment have been restricted to certain walks of life, mainly Governmental and subordinate. The almost mechanical nature of these employments, coupled with the knowledge that their knowledge and training is insufficient to enable them to compete successfully for the more responsible and better paid positions offering in mercantile and trading houses, and unable as most are to bear the expense of the education necessary to fit them for other professional employment, the ambitions of the community have in a very large degree been stifled, with the result that they are going under more and

more every year. I have not overlooked the fact that a University course is open to members of the community, but the conditions are such that the community is unable to avail itself of that opportunity. There is rapidly growing up a proletariat which can be of no good to the country. Not only is this proletariat growing from within but it is receiving constant accretions from without. There are practically no humble employments in this country to which uneducated and ill-fed men and women can turn their hands to eke out an existence, and the consequence is that "loaferdom" is on the increase. The contact of this proletariat with the lower orders of the native population is exercising an effect upon the latter and reacting upon themselves, which bodes no good.'

'In the early days of British presence in India, the child of mixed parentage ranked with his English father in society, and instances can be multiplied in which Members of Council and Judges of the Supreme Court and Generals in the army married the dusky daughter of an English merchant. But a result of the closer contact of England with India is that the Eurasian is treated as an Ishmael. He grows up under the influence of the contempt of the Englishman. This contempt has not escaped the notice of the native, and the native too looks down upon the Eurasian. Place any community under the blight of depression and tell me whether it can be expected to hold its head up and achieve great things. If there is anything in which a man has no share of responsibility, it is his birth. His birth is precisely the thing for which the Eurasian is condemned. The father has eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge. The social environment in which the Eurasian is born and nurtured works for the decadence of the community. Even for a pure European to be born and educated in India is an unpardonable sin. He can never be as worthy or efficient as one born in any class of society in Great Britain and Ireland. I speak not of theory. I witness to practice. Give a dog a bad name

you may as well hang him. The withdrawal of many of the better paid and more respectable avenues of employment from recruitment in India, has deprived a large section of the community of those positions its members formerly held. Such avenues have not been replaced by those of an equal grade, with the result that suitable employment not being available, appointments on smaller pay have to be accepted. Incomes have thus been lowered, and decadence has been accelerated. Elsewhere, salaries have been reduced to native standards, and Anglo-Indians are obliged to live upon salaries which to them are less than the irreducible minimum. The result of this must be evident in a few generations ; genteel poverty in one generation, penury in the next, and a final decadence. The steady advance in the cost of living and in the standards of living, has added to the difficulties of the community. Rents, food-stuffs, servants, etc., have all gone up in price, while salaries have remained stationary or been reduced in response to a larger supply of labour than is in demand.'

The difficulties in the way of effecting a substantial improvement in the condition of the domiciled community are economical, social, and educational. The economical difficulty is fundamental, and may be thus stated. The minimum living wage for a member of the domiciled community must be a wage that will enable him to retain European habits and modes of life, and he is therefore excluded from all forms of employment that are not ordinarily paid at a rate that will permit of this. He is practically excluded from manual labour except that of a highly specialized kind, requiring a considerable degree of education and intelligence. In the forms of employment that are largely a matter of routine, such as ordinary office work, he has a successful rival in the Indian, who for the minimum living wage of the European will be able to offer superior educational qualifications and at least as high a degree of general intelligence. If the member of the domiciled

community is to command a wage which is special, he must have special qualifications, either of education and general ability, which enable him to compete with the better class of the educated Indians, or he must have those physical or moral qualifications that are less commonly found in Indians than in Europeans. The situation of a member of the domiciled community in regard to remunerative employment is, in fact, abnormal ; for if he is not qualified for employment of the particular kinds that are open to him, there is nothing left. He cannot become a day labourer, or fall back on one or other of the numerous menial forms of employment that would be open to him in Europe ; he becomes a loafer, or a pauper.

The social difficulties in the way of an improvement in the condition of the domiciled community apply more particularly to the cases in which members of the community, whether pure European or Anglo-Indian, find themselves in competition with the imported European. It is felt by the better classes of the domiciled community that there is a prejudice against them that is unfair, which tends to restrict them to the less remunerative forms of employment, and which handicaps the efforts of the ambitious and capable man. The field is less open than it is in England. This prejudice certainly exists—if it is a prejudice—and it operates with especial hardness against the Anglo-Indian. How far is it justified ? In so far as it is a mere colour prejudice, it is certainly unfair, for it is admittedly bad science to assume that the complexion of an individual is a sure index of the degree in which other racial characteristics have been transmitted. Nevertheless it is unfortunately true that the experience of generations has seemed to justify the belief that a certain instability and want of ‘grit,’ and a false self-respect, are characteristics of the community. But even so it is unfair to assume without trial that these defects will be found in a particular individual because of his colour ; and those who know the community best know how frequently the assumption is unjust. Moreover



there are other circumstances that have an effect upon popular estimates of the character-standard of the community. • The domiciled community receives recruits from the pure Indian population : either Indians who find it to their advantage, for whatever reason, to call themselves Anglo-Indians, or Indians who have been brought up from childhood in missionary institutions. It is not surprising that the domiciled community should resent these 'un-asked, unsought' additions to their number. They have no title to belong to the community, and too frequently do it little good. Again, the community suffers a steady loss of those most capable of raising it in popular estimation : those whose success in life enables them to take their place in another social world. There is something pathetic in the sensitiveness of this community about its good name : a sensitiveness which has made it anxious to drop the name Eurasian because of the connotation it has now acquired, although at the time Sir George Trevelyan wrote his '*Cawnpore*' he was able to speak of 'half-castes, or *as they would fain be called, Eurasians.*' If a Eurasian is one in whose blood there is any admixture, however slight, of Indian blood, there are in England to-day many who have distinguished themselves in the service of the State, in commerce, in the professions, and in other walks of life, who, though they may not know it or suspect it, are in strictness Eurasians, and as such they are striking illustrations of the effect of environment and education upon those of mixed race.

The members of the domiciled community have felt keenly their practical exclusion from the superior appointments in Government service formerly open to them, owing to the present distinction between the Imperial and Provincial Services. They have regarded this exclusion as a stigma upon persons born and educated in the country, and it has been claimed that the young men who have been educated in European schools in India are well able to pass the educational tests of qualification for admission to the

Imperial Services. It is no doubt galling to a capable and ambitious man to feel that his birth and education in India are a bar to his chances of rising to the highest posts in the career he may have adopted, and it is easy to adduce instances of men born and brought up in India who have filled the highest posts in the various services once open to them with distinction. Still it is only fair to remember in this connexion that the chief concern of Government is to have its services efficiently staffed. Lord Curzon, in his speech to the Anglo-Indian Association in March, 1900, took occasion to point out that the Government had found itself obliged to ask the Secretary of State to allow a larger proportion of appointments in the Finance Department, in the Accounts Branch of the Public Works Department, and in the Traffic Branch of the Railways, to be recruited from home, simply on account of the dearth of suitable candidates in India. He said, "It is no good to represent these proceedings as evidence of spite or unfairness on the part of Government. They are nothing of the sort. We are more than anxious to employ you. But how is it possible to create special privileges in your favour when you do not even take advantage of those already open to you." The fact is that Government has found it necessary in selecting men to fill appointments in these higher services to look for qualifications other than those that can be ascertained by an examination of the educational attainments of the candidates, and it is no reflection upon the ability or character of the young men educated in India to say that they must necessarily be in some respects provincial, as compared with those who have had the good fortune to live, during their most impressionable years, in touch with the fuller life of English society, and receive their education at an English school or an English University. One would wish,\* of course, that the really exceptional man in any Indian service should not be prevented from rising as high as his deserts, but such cases

will always be exceptional, and if, in accordance with the recent recommendation of the Government of India, the Local Governments increase the number of State Scholarships tenable at a British University, the best boys of the community will have the opportunity of entering one or other of the Imperial Services in greater numbers.

Perhaps the most discouraging symptom in the case of the domiciled community is that it is disheartened and somewhat hopeless about itself. It has been a good deal preached at ; the doctrine of self-help has been inculcated both in season and out of season ; and it has become a little irritable, and impatient of good advice. Nevertheless it is true that if the community is to be uplifted as a whole, and enabled to take the position in India that would allow it to enjoy a justifiable self-respect, there must be a strong movement to that end from within. Some of its spokesmen have from time to time advocated measures that would, if carried out, have placed it in the position of a privileged and protected community. It is not to the ultimate advantage of any community to be placed in such a position, and it may be doubted whether the ' good old times ' when the members of the domiciled community had the practical monopoly of the subordinate appointments in the Government Secretariats—appointments with regular pay, a mechanical system of promotion, and a pension at the end of a service of routine and moderate effort, were really good times, when they did so little to develop initiative and self-reliance. Unfortunately the community is unfavourably situated for the organization of movements which, to have their full effect, must be movements in a body united by the consciousness of a common aim and a definite purpose. The community is small, and yet widely scattered ; and although considerable numbers are concentrated in the large towns, these towns are far apart. Further there are very great differences in the worldly circumstances of the members of the community. At the one end of the scale there are large numbers, especially

in such towns as Calcutta, living in either degraded or respectable poverty ; at the other end of the scale there are those in comfortable circumstances separated by a wide social gulf from their poorer brethren. The geographical and social difficulties in the way of united action for a common purpose make it all the more important that the wisest heads of the community should act strongly together in promoting the moral and material welfare of their people, and in bringing to the notice of the Government their necessities and reasonable aspirations. It is a real misfortune that so small a community should at the present moment have two Associations claiming to represent its interests ; and no greater or more unselfish service could be rendered to the community by the members of these two Associations than their amalgamation into one strong Association, by composing the differences, presumably of minor importance, which at present stand in the way.

It remains to consider what can be done from outside to improve the condition of the domiciled community. And here the way is clear. Until the benefits of good education are secured to all the children of this community, neither the Government nor the Churches, nor the general public, nor the domiciled community itself have done their duty. Whatever views may be held as to the efficacy of education to solve the problems of the domiciled community it cannot be said that education has failed until it has been tried for a sufficient time under the most favourable circumstances. So far education has not had a fair chance. In proof of this it is sufficient to say that a considerable proportion of the poorer children of the community are not being educated at all, that from the want of proper facilities the education of many other children is being neglected, that school buildings and equipment are, except in the case of the schools supported by the Roman Catholic Church, very generally defective, that the training of teachers for the different grades of

schools is inadequate, and, most important of all, that the remuneration offered to teachers, especially men teachers, is insufficient to attract those who are best fitted, by reason of their character and ability, to become teachers. The circumstances of the children of the domiciled community give special point to the saying, "It is men, not methods, that really tell in education." These children, far more than children in Europe, require schools that are good not because they have good buildings and apparatus, or because they have teachers who can make their pupils pass examinations, but because they are efficacious in training character; and this they will be in proportion as the men and women who teach in them have the requisite personality. Every lesson that a teacher gives is a moral lesson. Specific religious and moral instruction at stated times will not make up for the lack of teachers of the right kind, exercising continuously, if silently, an influence for good.

It was to consider what could be done to improve the education of the children of the domiciled community that a conference, summoned by the Government of India, was held at Simla in July, 1912. No action of greater importance for the welfare of the domiciled community has ever been taken by the Government of India. The report of the conference has recently been published. It contains a *resume* of the discussions that took place at Simla, and a number of appendices containing matter of great interest to all concerned with 'European' education in India. The report has been sent to Local Governments and administrations together with a covering letter, dated January 8th, 1913, which gives the views of the Government of India upon the more important matters dealt with by the conference.

In paragraph 3 of this letter the Government of India states its general policy with regard to 'European' education. There were some who hoped that the Government might once for all assume full responsibility for 'European'

education. This the Government has declined to do, and in view of the fact that the Churches were the pioneers of European education in this country and that European schools are still chiefly denominational, it may be inexpedient that it should. It may also be impracticable for other reasons. Be this as it may the Government 'reiterate their adherence to the policy of reliance on private enterprise guided by inspection, and aided by grants from public funds,' and although a 'liberal measure of support' is promised from public funds, this will be 'in supplement to increased efforts' on the part of the community to improve the education of its children. This means, in practice, increased efforts on the part of the Churches to improve the schools under their charge, for it is futile to suppose that school fees can be made higher than they now are, and school fees are the only material contribution towards the cost of education that can be made by the domiciled community. There is no doubt that these 'increased efforts' required by the Government will tax severely the resources of the Churches concerned, with the possible exception of the Roman Catholic Church, and the importance of the movement initiated by Sir Robert Laidlaw for the collection of funds for the improvement of European schools in India is greatly enhanced by this pronouncement of the Government.

The conference expressed itself strongly as to the need of bringing under education those for whom no facilities are at present available, in the following terms :—

(i) 'That in order to break down illiteracy and meet the needs of the poorer members of the community free and low-fee boarding schools should be encouraged by more liberal grants, the grants to continue till the pupils reached the age of 18 as was already the case in some provinces, and that arrangements should be made, where possible, to attach destitute children to practical pursuits, agricultural and industrial, on the lines of Kalimpong, and efforts made to get them apprenticed in Government

factories, firms, the mints, etc., and, further, that fee grants should be given as in Bombay to day schools throughout India.'

(ii) 'That the state of the poorer members of the domiciled community in Calcutta and Madras calls for specially urgent attention.' The Government of India in paragraph 4 of their letter commend this matter to the special attention of the Local Governments, and announce that they have already made grants of Rs. 40,000, and Rs. 30,000, a year respectively to the Local Governments of Bengal and Madras, where the state of the poorer members of the community calls for specially urgent attention. It has long been recognized that for the destitute and neglected children of Calcutta and other large towns it is necessary not merely to provide educational facilities, but to change their environment; they must be *housed* as well as taught.' The most effective method is to transplant the children, young, to what may be called Reclamatory Schools, where, in a better climate and surroundings, they may receive an education which teaches the dignity of labour. Admirable work of this kind is already being done by the Kalimpong Homes, and by other homes and orphanages in the plains and in the hills, but the existing institutions by no means meet the requirements of the situation. It is satisfactory to learn that a start is to be made almost immediately with the new St. George's Homes at Kodaikanal, Madras, under the auspices of the European Schools Improvement Association, a Company registered for the purpose of administering the funds collected by the committee in which Sir Robert Laidlaw has interested himself so greatly. But the children who may be described as waifs to be rescued are by no means the whole of those who require charitable assistance. There are many destitute or nearly destitute children in towns like Calcutta, who are in other respects above the class of children just referred to. An analysis of the circumstances of 237 children now being educated,

clothed, and fed, either free or at the lowest possible charge, in one of Calcutta's most deserving charitable institutions, the Free School, shows this clearly. Of these children 46 are orphans, 82 have no fathers, 40 have been deserted by their fathers, 15 are children whose mothers have married again, 44 are the children of fathers who are unemployed or in no regular employment, and 10 are the children of pensioners. It was announced by the Hon'ble Mr. Kùchler in his budget speech on Education on March 5th that it had been decided to use the Rs. 40,000 grant to enable the Government to substitute for the present grants-in-aid, grants to cover the whole cost of the staff of teachers in free schools and orphanages in Calcutta, thus setting free funds that will render possible a much-needed expansion of the work of educating destitute children.

In paragraph 5 of their letter the Government of India remark upon the specific resolutions of the conference.

As regards Resolution I, which advocates compulsory education, the Governments anticipate the same practical difficulties that have been found to exist in the case of Indian children. But with increased facilities for the education of destitute children it may be anticipated that the worst evils that now exist will gradually disappear.

Resolution II of the conference deals with the grading of schools. The conference recognized that the education of the children of the domiciled community must necessarily be continued up to the age at which employment is ordinarily possible. Employment is not generally available for boys of this class in India at so early an age as it is in England. Hence a continuous course of education must be provided up to the age of 16 or later. It was agreed that for the majority of boys a more modern and practical education than at present given in the majority of European schools was desirable, an opinion in which the Government of India entirely concurs; and that the schools giving this education should be called High Schools.



Such schools, as has been recently said, 'must give an opportunity for the gradual and healthy development of the powers of mind and body. Natural capacity is running to waste in all directions by the failure to adjust school training to the varying temperaments and aptitudes of different children, and still more by allowing the period of school training to end too soon, instead of dovetailing it into improved conditions of employment.'

The conference further agreed that a more advanced and more expensive type of school than the High School was required for a minority of the boys of the domiciled community—a type more expensive because of the higher and more varied educational qualifications demanded in the teaching staff—and that such schools should be called Collegiate Schools. It will be admitted that there should be schools of this type, with a curriculum leading to the universities and liberal professions, for the children of parents who are able to pay the proportionately higher fees of such schools, and for boys who, though poor, have real ability. These schools would also be used, as existing schools are now, for part or the whole of the school course, by boys who do not, properly speaking, belong to the domiciled community, and who will complete their school education in England, or proceed to England for professional or university education. It is not perhaps generally known what a multiplicity of occupations is represented by the boys attending schools of the better class in India. A recent examination of the registers of a Calcutta school has shown that by far the largest number of the parents were employed on railways, in business houses and trading establishments, in the various departments of Government service, and in occupations connected with the port and city of Calcutta; but the following professions or occupations among others were also represented: doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, tea planters, managers of industrial concerns and zemindaries, marine and other engineers, commanders of inland steamers, shorthand reporters and newspaper

assistants, agents, accountants, brokers, retired military officers, and Government pensioners.

Resolution III runs 'Salaries of teachers need to be raised ; teachers whether recruited in England or in India should in all cases be given incremental salaries reaching a maximum as a rule in ten years ; generally speaking initial salaries are insufficient ; and it should be obligatory on all schools to start provident funds. Resolutions XIII and XV (ii), in which His Excellency in Council concurs, emphasize the importance of improving the pay and prospects of teachers in both boys' and girls' schools ; they rank this object with the reclamation of children to education as being the most important objects requiring the financial aid of Government. In Appendix 4 of the Report a scheme of incremental salaries for different classes of teachers is given, which also shows the bonus that would be received after 25 years' service from a Provident Fund on a ten per cent. basis. Some of the initial salaries proposed in this scheme have been criticised as too low : Rs. 50 and Rs. 75 per mensem for women teachers recruited in India ; and Rs. 100 and Rs. 150 per mensem for men teachers recruited in India. Two things however have to be borne in mind, first, that a salary with regular increments and the certainty of a bonus is a very different thing from a fixed salary and no certainty of anything more ; and secondly, that very large demands will be made upon the liberality of the Government to enable this resolution to be given effect to.

The improvements of the pay and prospects of teachers bear materially upon the question of the training of teachers, for it is quite certain that the right material for training will not be available in sufficient quantity until something has been done to make the teaching profession very much more attractive than it is at present. Since Government recognizes this, and is also considering the question of the institution of a new Government training college at Bangalore, there is every reason to hope that

early effect will be given to this most important resolution of the conference.

The question of the establishment of a university arts college for the domiciled community is one upon which the community feels very strongly. It is well known that the boys of this community are less successful than formerly in open competitions for admission to certain Government departments, and the reason is that the boys of the domiciled community compete from school at a comparatively early age, whereas their Indian competitors are often university graduates and are usually older. Some remarks by the Principal of Thomason College, Roorkee, in his note on openings for employment for members of the domiciled community, published as Appendix 27 to the report of the conference, are apposite. Colonel Atkinson says that, as regards the openings for employment in the Engineering professions, members of the community only avail themselves of a small percentage. The reason for this in his opinion are (1) that parents are anxious that their sons should earn their living as soon as possible, and generally send them out to enter into competition before they are educationally fit, and (2) that members of the domiciled community do not take advantage of the existing facilities for collegiate education. The boys who attempt to enter the Engineering professions generally come from a few Anglo-Indian schools, and their preliminary education is inadequate for the task of competing with picked Indian graduates in the courses of Engineering Colleges.' The fact is, that in a large number of cases the parents of promising boys are unable to bear the expense of keeping their boys at school to the end of the school course, much less to send them on to a university. And even in the case of those who could maintain their sons during a course of university education, there is a very natural disinclination to send them to the Colleges established for Indian students, excellent though the educational facilities they offer may be. Nevertheless if the

domiciled community is to hold its own in the face of modern competition it must turn out in larger numbers men with the highest educational qualifications, whether obtained in India or abroad. The Government of India 'are disposed to think that there is not a sufficient demand for collegiate education to justify the foundation of an university arts college for the domiciled community,' and this may at present be true. It is therefore suggested that the needs of Southern India would be met by the attachment of arts and science graduate courses to the proposed training college at Bangalore, and the needs of Northern India by the establishment of special hostels for members of the domiciled community at certain colleges. This, at any rate, would be a step in advance, and, failing a 'pious founder,' it would seem that the domiciled community must be content with this alternative to 'a separate university arts college, either affiliated to a Western university, or self-contained and conferring its own degrees' (Resolution V (i) ) until the demand for university education is very much greater than it now is. 'One great obstacle to the spread of higher education among the domiciled community is the belief common amongst them that avenues of employment formerly open have been closed to them; in the interests of the spread of higher education Government should be asked to institute an inquiry as to whether the belief in question is well founded, and, if that is shown to be the case, steps should be taken to provide the remedy' (Resolution V, (iv) ). In view of the inquiries of the Royal Commission on the public services in India the Government of India do not propose to institute separate inquiry on this question, but it may be suggested that the Anglo-Indian Association, which will presumably be given an opportunity of laying its views before the Royal Commission, should itself ascertain what the facts are, and be prepared to put them forward. No other body is so deeply concerned in the matter. The argument has been used by members of the community

that higher education is useless to them since the appointments in Government service open to members of the community are fewer than they used to be. This argument is surely unsound. Appointments demanding high educational qualifications are not likely to increase in number so long as there is a dearth of suitable candidates. The practical argument in favour of more appointments is more candidates who can claim to be qualified. And on general grounds an indifferent attitude towards higher education is short-sighted, when the tendency of the time is to require a higher standard of general education as a qualification for most kinds of remunerative employment.

The Government of India refers Resolution VI of the conference regarding grants to the Local Governments for opinion. The principle underlying the grant-in-aid system could not be better stated than it is in the resolution: 'The Government grants to schools should be of such amount and given in such a way as to enable all schools, that are recognized by the provincial education departments as necessary, to be efficient in the grade in which they are classed.'

The small size of most European schools is unfavourable to their economical working, but the question of concentration is beset with denominational, geographical, and financial difficulties. The conference contented itself with the expression of a pious opinion that the concentration of schools is desirable where possible, and the Government of India in remitting this resolution to the Local Governments does not appear to expect that practical proposals will be speedily forthcoming.

The important and difficult question of school examinations and leaving certificates was discussed by the conference at considerable length. Briefly, what was recommended in Resolution VIII was a system of certificates in the award of which the school record of the pupil should be considered as well as his success in external examinations. The matter has been referred to

**Local Governments for opinion.** Many Anglo-Indians of an older generation are convinced that the education now given in European schools is not so good as it was in the days before the first Code for European Schools was introduced. It is certainly true that great harm was done to education by the way in which the examinations formerly held under the Code encouraged a vicious competition among schools for examination successes, all the more deplorable because many of the victims of this competition were little boys and girls who ought to have been subjected to no external examinations of any kind. It is to be hoped that whatever system of examinations and certificates may eventually be adopted, there will be no more sacrifice of education to examination.

A number of other matters discussed by the conference have also been referred to the Local Governments for opinion, among which are the important questions of the provision and award of scholarships, and the medical inspection of schools. Finally, in Resolution XV, the conference expressed its view that the most important of its recommendations regarding the education of boys applied *mutatis mutandis* to girls. A special point was made of the importance of saving girls from mental and physical pressure.

Since the publication of the report of the conference a further pronouncement on the matters dealt with has been made in the Resolution on Education issued by the Government of India in February, a paragraph from which may fitly conclude this article.

“The recommendations of the conference were numerous and far-reaching. The Government of India are prepared to accept at once the view that the most urgent needs are the education of those children who do not at present attend school, and the improvement of the prospects of teachers. They are also disposed to regard favourably the proposal to erect a training college at Bangalore, with arts and science classes for graduates

courses attached to it. They recognise that grants-in-aid must be given in future on a more liberal scale and under a more elastic system. They will recommend to Local Governments the grant of a greater number of scholarships to study abroad. The proposals to re-classify the schools, to introduce leaving certificates, to include in the course of instruction general hygiene and physiology, special instruction in temperance, and the effects of alcohol on the human body, and the other detailed proposals of the conference, will be carefully considered on the line of the opinion of the Local Governments when they have been received."

W. H. ARDEN WOOD.

*La Martiniere, Calcutta.*

# THE ECONOMIC DANGER OF TRANSITION.

BY A. J. FRASER BLAIR.

*Note.*—It will be obvious to anyone who reads the following paper that its main idea is not dissimilar to that of Sir Theodore Morrison's "India in Transition." I should like, therefore, to explain the absence of any reference to that work by mentioning that my essay was written before I had the opportunity of reading Sir Theodore Morrison's book.

A. J. F. B.

**S**OME two or three years ago it was customary to speak of the unrest in India as though it were a mere passing phase. I confess I cannot take this view of it. So far as its political aspect is concerned that could doubtless be adjusted within a measurable period of time—but for the economic problem. And as that is the result, not simply of local conditions, but of gigantic world tendencies, its solution is likely to be spread over a long period of time, and to be attended with enormous sufferings.

Let us glance briefly at the economic problem as it presents itself in Bengal. I select Bengal for the simple reason that here I feel myself fairly confident about my facts. I am well aware that the same facts would not apply in their entirety to the Punjab. Nevertheless I am going to be rash enough to apply my inferences to the whole of India—indeed to the whole of Asia! With regard to Bengal I have come into contact with a good many of the genteel poor of this country—the people who furnish our offices with most of their clerks, our schools with their pedagogues, our newspapers with their penny-a-liners and so on. All these people agree in saying that their condition at the present time is considerably worse than it was 30 years ago. Their wages are higher, but their expenses have increased in greater ratio, and the net result is that



they are worse housed, worse fed and worse off generally than they were before. This has led to a lowering of their vitality, and the tremendous increase in the death-rate in many districts—allowing even for the imagination of the village chowkidar who furnishes so many of the figures—cannot but strike one in this connection. Altogether the impression which one gets of the condition of the large middle class in Bengal is extremely depressing.

Among the lower classes we find, it is true, increasing evidence of material prosperity—better clothes, a greater use of shoes and umbrellas, keener ambition and a greater appreciation of the advantages of education. But the net result so far has been to recruit the already overcrowded ranks of the *Bhadra-log*, and the last condition of the proletarian who gets on, in this sense, is worse than the first.

The middle class themselves admit that the reason is partly because they have become habituated to certain things which their fathers and grandfathers would have considered unattainable or undesirable luxuries. I know one well-to-do Bengali gentleman whose grandfather, he told me, never—or hardly ever—wore anything but a *dhoti*, and whose other habits were equally simple. He lived to be 84. I cannot help relating his simple habits to his long life.

But such simplicity, one cannot help thinking, is very largely a thing of the past. I do not suppose there is a single inhabitant of Calcutta, or any other town in India, however humble, whose imagination has not been stimulated by the spectacle of Western luxury exemplified in the habits and customs of the leading Europeans and of those Indians who have adopted the European standard of living. There seems to be a special attraction about these luxuries which have a vicious tendency—witness the extraordinary vogue of the cheap cigarette. People who are almost too poor to buy sufficient food seem able to afford to smoke these concoctions. The same tendency is to be observed

exerting itself in a healthier manner in the various athletic clubs which are springing up everywhere. The people, in the large towns at any rate, are rousing themselves, stretching their limbs, cramped with the inertia of ages, and reaching out vaguely for a fuller and more satisfying measure of physical life.

It may be said that, this applies only to the great centres like Calcutta, but it applies in a lesser degree to smaller towns, and it must be remembered that so far as Calcutta is concerned the real home of 99 men out of a hundred is some country village possibly hundreds of miles away. The Calcutta man goes back to his village periodically carrying with him the atmosphere of the far off metropolis. Human nature being what it is, it is impossible but that his fellow-villagers will drink in some at least of his impressions of the larger world outside; and when one realises that this is happening daily in a hundred thousand districts it is easy to imagine that its effects even upon the humble ryot must be profoundly disturbing in time. Why is it that the boycott movement of some years ago broke down even in the most out-of-the-way places? Largely because the people as a whole had become so accustomed to certain articles of European manufacture, which their parents would have considered luxuries, that neither patriotism nor threats could prevail upon them to give them up.

All this appears to be the result of the clashing of two civilizations—the advanced material civilization of the West and the more primitive civilization of the East. European civilization is like one of those drastic medicines which either kill or cure. Administered to people like the red men of America, the Maoris of New Zealand or the natives of the South Sea Islands it has swept them off the face of the earth. The African is a very different proposition. Western civilization, whether he encounters it in America or in Africa, brings to him not a message of destruction but a lease of life on a higher physical and intellectual plane.

The American negroes are increasing rapidly in numbers and efficiency, and have attained to a degree of civilization in the Western sense which, although it is lower than that of the English or French proletariat, is at least as high as that of the "Mean White" of the Southern States.. It is in fact notorious that the American negro, by reason of his fecundity and his power of adapting himself to European conditions, has become a source of perplexity and even of dread to his white fellow-citizens. There is a wide ethnological gulf between the Indian or the Chinese and the Negro ; but they like him are envisaged by the complex material civilization of the West, and the alternative presented to them is equally simple. They must either assimilate it, or it will destroy them. It is sufficiently manifest that the latter alternative is not going to happen, and it is because the former alternative is being embraced that all the unrest and its concomitants have arisen. The unrest in India must be considered in the light of the unrest in the Near and Far East. When it is so considered we get some idea of the magnitude of the problem—not necessarily in its political, but in its economic aspect. The problem is nothing more or less than this; that the races which have hitherto been backward, from the standpoint of European civilization, have been thrown more or less violently into contact with that civilization. They have been forced to contemplate it, in its magnificence, its pride, its intellectual and physical achievements, in the rewards it holds out to individual energy, and they find their own civilizations insipid by contrast. We must try to get rid of the idea that Eastern ideals are necessarily distinct from Western. As regards material prosperity the aims and objects of all the civilized races are becoming more and more alike. In time the non-civilized races will become extinct, and the civilized races, having been levelled up by the steam-roller of improved communications, perfected mechanical contrivances and the adoption of a universal

language will be in a position to devote their undivided energies to the central mystery of life.

I believe, in short, that we are groping our way to the unification of the race. Economic unity must come first, and can only be attained as the result of tremendous struggles—industrial and economic Iliads—which may endure for centuries, and will leave their mark upon humanity for all time. I believe that we are at the commencement of one of these economic revolutions in India. That is why I believe that the present unrest is not a transitory phenomenon and will not yield to political or any other sedatives.

The present position in India is analogous in some respects to the state of things which prevailed in England after the inventions of Watt and Arkwright had revolutionized the problems of production and manufacture. The effect of these inventions was to transform England in one generation from an agricultural into a manufacturing country. The economic revolution brought political revolution, to all intents and purposes, in its train. It was attended with an amount of squalor and suffering such as the pen of a Dickens or a Disraeli alone could do justice to. Neither the economic nor the political revolution is yet complete. Yet the conditions in England were more favourable than they are in India to the establishment of a stable equilibrium. The population was not one-tenth of that of India and was more homogeneous in its composition and ways of thought. Comparing the factors governing the situation in India to-day one cannot help admitting that they are even more liable to lead to political complications than those obtaining in England a century ago. The Governments of China and Persia are confronted with the same difficulty and the same danger as our own. Contact with the West at so many points has set up new economic and political ideals, towards which their peoples are pressing with ever-increasing eagerness. Under the most favourable conditions the

period of transition must be a time of storm and stress. But in China and Persia there is no foreign government to complicate the economic movement with inter-racial issues. The problem, as I have said, is common to all these Eastern countries, but in India it is beset with peculiar difficulties and dangers. In the limits assigned to me I cannot do more than glance at these. But, speaking generally, the main danger is that there may be some gigantic popular upheaval as the result of economic—not political—stress, and that this economic earthquake may be taken advantage of by political intriguers to overthrow the British Government. So far as we can see the result of such a catastrophe would be to set back the economic development of India and plunge her, for a time at all events, into a state of political and economic chaos. The economic revolution is bound to come, in India as in other countries. What is to be deprecated is that it should be accompanied by a political revolution which would interfere with its orderly and pacific accomplishment.

In this matter it seems to me that the Government has a large number of natural allies in the educated classes, particularly in the growing body of Indians who have adopted English ways of living. It is they who are best acquainted with the various steps in the transition process. They are best qualified to pioneer their fellow-countrymen from one civilization to the other. But naturally they are precisely the class which is most ambitious of political and social recognition. To any claim which the British Government may have upon their support in the coming era of economic strife, they are able to oppose a powerful counter-claim in the shape of a demand for political and social rights which are now withheld from them. It is for the Government to consider how long it can afford to allow them to go on cherishing a sense of political grievance. It is for the non-official European, circumstanced as he is, to say how long he will be justified in keeping the educated Indian at arm's length. The time will come when the

Government, the non-official European and the wealthy, leisured, anglicised Indian will be called upon to face a common danger—the danger of economic and, therefore, of political chaos, the result of some crisis in the painful process of transition. The educated and wealthy Indian, especially the anglicised Indian, has as much to lose by such a revolution as the Anglo-Indian or the Government itself ; but he need not necessarily see this—until perhaps it is too late.

To recapitulate.

1. The unrest in this country will increase rather than diminish, because

2. It is very largely economic, and as such is common to practically all Eastern countries with any civilization to boast of. So far as its economic occasion is concerned it is due to the clashing of an advanced material civilization with a primitive material civilization. One of these must give way to the other—must either adopt its standards or perish, owing to the incompatibility of the ideals which have been set up. It is reasonable to suppose that the more advanced civilization will prove stronger than the more primitive civilization, and all the signs point to the triumph of the former in India as in other countries.

3. The triumph of Western civilization over Eastern civilization will tend to lever up the material standard of the whole human race and give mankind a uniform economic basis. Its ultimate effect will, therefore, be beneficial (presumably) ; but before this object can be realized the world must pass through an agony of economic and, possibly, political change. It is quite conceivable that modern civilization itself may collapse under the ordeal as other civilizations have done.

4. We are entering on such a period of economic readjustment in India. It is inevitable that economic revolution must lead to political change, but it will be absolutely fatal if the economic and the political crises are suffered to coincide. It will be, possibly, in the near future, the

anxious task of Indian statesmanship to tide this country over the economic ordeal, and it can only succeed in this task by co-ordinating all those forces, both English and Indian, which make for orderly progress. Of these forces the anglicised Indian is by far the most important : it is vital that his interests should be absolutely identified with those of the Government and the civilization which is as rightfully his inheritance as our own.

A. J. FRASER BLAIR.

*Calcutta.*

## THE MEANING OF POETRY.

BY R. M. STEPHEN, M.A.

**T**HE Puritan divines of the seventeenth century, in fabricating a catechism for immature minds, dashed undauntedly at the question, "What is God?" Nowadays we may even hesitate before the question "What is man?" The amazing advance of the physical sciences has made us shy of claiming a large and familiar circle of metaphysical acquaintances. Language of scientific precision has to work hard in its own department and looks somewhat foreign and irrelevant anywhere else. We welcome clear definition on every lawful occasion, but must often dispense with that, as with much besides in a world so wide and deep as this. As we come to know better how things look when they are really clear, we are more ready to acknowledge the elusive and indefinable.

We enjoy poetry, but stammer or hold our peace when asked to define it. We say poetry is—poetry. Life, love and God are ill to define. They are indeed, but what are they? In poetry also there is something that does not abide our question; that overflows, escapes and vanishes when coldly canvassed.

Better and worse definitions of poetry are easily found; but where is the *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*? Even metrical form, for as obvious a term in any possible definition as it might appear, does not go undisputed; it has to justify itself against doubts or dicta of Plato and Aristotle, of Wordsworth and Shelley, and against performances whose poetical claims cannot be dismissed without a hearing. If we push past the form to what we are told is required in the substance, we are again confronted with much that the world calls poetry, though it does not differ very materially from prose.



The difficulty and debate besetting our definitions may be at least partially explained. Poetry has a body and a soul. In perfect poetry, as in perfect life, there should be complete balance and harmony between the two. Poetry falls short of its ideal when there is defect of either, or maladaptation of one to the other. Now, one of the first things to be learned, if we would see light through what the great exponents of poetry say, is that the world's actual poetry, like man himself and all his works, is only an approximation, a superb experiment. Critics in their theories, deal with abstract conceptions; poets furnish concrete products and creations. And, as in the Platonic philosophy the ideas were in the heavens and only their imperfect shadows on the earth, so the ideas of the great law-givers of poetry are in the heaven of their own mind, or caught by them out of the higher heaven of the poets; but even before the greatest poet the idea floats celestially, defying his desire to get it in complete glory and perfectness into his work. The finest definitions aim at embodying the ideal which, whether the poets knew it or not, animated the poetry of the world; and thus formulate for us a conception of what poetry should be, which even Homer, Æschylus and Shakespeare may not always satisfy: Their work reveals splendid possibilities, floating forever on our horizon, and we are contented when we get nearer to them, disappointed when we fall back from them.

Good poetry, for one sure thing, must possess a distinctive grace of form and quality of substance, appealing to the ear by its sound, to heart and mind by its meaning. It produces a complex and unique delight, not soon mistaken by those that have once truly experienced it, though many diverse elements may be discerned under the generic identity of effect. The experience of poetic arrival is an emotion which, though not kinless, has a marked individuality of character and feature. It comes like the inbreaking of sunlight in a forest clearing, or the burst of a bird's

song out of silence or over common sounds, quickening and uplifting, or, it may be, thrilling the soul with sweet pain, an "aching joy." Poetry, however, has this peculiar to itself, that it is not mere objective beauty waiting to be discovered and interpreted, but beauty already humanized and subjectively dressed for us. In natural beauty the soul of the world speaks to us, if we have ears to hear; poetry superadds a soul like our own that has preceded us, making discoveries and finding interpretations we might never have found or made for ourselves. Let the poet's capture or creation be as much beyond our scope as it may, we have still an intense experience of coming into a lost or unclaimed inheritance, of beholding things we had been blindly groping after.

The poetic word is "inevitable," not that the poet must chance upon it in his own despite, but that, once spoken, it is welcomed by the discerning spirit as the word "which was lost and is found," producing the joy of hid treasure brought at last to light, inevitable in the sense that our humanity could not rest until it was uttered. The great words of the poets bear the stamp of predestination: they were foreordained to be spoken from the foundation of the world, the creation was foredoomed to travail till they came to the birth. A great poem is a fresh stroke in the creation of things; a great line is a veritable divine oracle. Hence it was but a thing to be expected, that prophets, when their message was most inspired, must needs turn poets. There is a choric grandeur in the sublime passages of Isaiah; an elegiac sweetness in the complaints of Jeremiah. The Delphic priestess pronounced her oracle in hexameters, the only adequate language for gods condescending to the tongues of men. Impassioned prayer always verges on poetry. The Romans had one name for the poet and the seer. Virgil could sing of "holy bards who had spoken words meet for Apollo;" nor did the Greeks speak at random when they called the minstrel divine.

The kinship of poet and prophet was recognized by Shelley. Poetry, as he put it, "redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man." Wordsworth professed the "animating faith"

That poets, even as prophets, each with each  
Connected in a mighty scheme of truth,  
Have each his own peculiar faculty,  
Heaven's gift, a sense that fits him to perceive  
Objects unseen before.

He spoke of a "vision and a faculty divine," a "poetic consecration" and invoked the prophetic spirit that possesses

A metropolitan temple in the hearts  
Of mighty poets.

Even the supreme poet does not sound the authentic note of highest poetry at every line. We can endure the sweetness only in solution, the thrust of power modulated by some accompaniment of ordinary thought and speech. The poet is known by his ability to strike the note; he would exhaust and stun us if he struck no other. The level course of his composition is justified if it worthily subserves the eminent splendours; if the beauties are not purple patches on a shoddy garment, but inwoven thread of gold. Artistic purpose, harmony and grace are everywhere manifest in the poet's work, imparting form, proportion, organic unity, colour, music; but ever and anon the heavens open and the poet's words melt into and become one with the supernal light. We are rapt for moments to a hill of vision, granted a glimpse into the adytum of the temple.

Melody, felicity of language, skilful workmanship are fine things indispensable to poetry; but they are not enough for the highest poetry, any more than good marble, accurate measuring and careful chiselling can of themselves make a great statue. The statue must embody an artistic conception; a soul of some quality must have sought, and found, expression in it. The poem also must embody an idea, and in words, the medium that lies closest

to thought and has no true substance apart from thought. The medium in fact is a succession of perceptions or coherent fancies ; the poet must work his wonders for us in stuff of the mind. While the sculptor and the musician use media related to eye or ear, producing an immediate sensuous impression, the poet must address our intelligence before he can produce any effect at all, except the delicate and in itself tenuous and evanescent pleasure of rhythm and melody. The daemonic element present in all great art must in poetry inherit inarticulated thoughts, instead of addressing our senses in a succession of sounds, like music, or in form and colour, like sculpture or painting. High poetry presents visions of beauty, glimpses of the heights and the abysses, interpretative flashes from the mystery of things, caught upon the mirror of the poet's mind and reflected in words whose power and charm, when the reflection is unblurred and undistorted, provides indisputable evidence of their inspiration. The poet at his best, like the prophet, is a mouthpiece of the universal spirit ; with this difference, that the prophet's revelations are mirrored chiefly in emotion and conscience, the poet's in emotion and the æsthetic sense. Even when the poet has as much in common with the prophet as Dante had, there is still a difference in the character of his reaction on the revelation imparted to him and his manner of proclaiming it. The prophet, Carlyle said, tells us what we are to do ; the poet what we are to love. The very dooms and woes of lost souls are presented by the poet in pictures that seize the imagination and excite feelings whose terror and pain have a strange attractiveness. The grandeur in the gloomy and the awful, the soul of goodness in things evil, is the peculiar discovery of the poet, as well as the tenderness and pity distilled from weak and broken things which the common mind overlooks or neglects. The truth of things, which is ever beauty, is the poet's prize ; that he can penetrate to it, or that it is not thrown away and lost upon him, makes him a poet.

But a difficulty confronts us. Much that goes by the name of poetry and can hardly be fitted with another name, seems to put our transcendental theories to confusion. What are we to make of Dryden and Pope or, going further back, of Horace? They wrote many thousands of verses, crisp, witty, polished, vividly forcible, still living and not likely to die. To say, with Matthew Arnold, that Dryden and Pope are "classics of our prose," is only paradox; for, were there no more, the mere fact that they wrote in metre is fatal to any claim to classicality in prose.

Yet it is the truth that much or most of their work is more like fine prose than supreme poetry. Here, for example, are some lines from Pope:—

Thick as the bees, that with the spring renew  
 Their flowery toils, and sip the fragrant dew,  
 When the wing'd colonies first tempt the sky,  
 O'er dusky fields and shaded waters fly,  
 Or settling, seize the sweets the blossoms yield,  
 And a low murmur runs along the field.

Set this beside some cognate lines of Milton's:—

As bees

In springtime, when the sun with Taurus rides,  
 Pour forth their populous youth about the hive  
 In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers  
 Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,  
 The suburb of their straw-built citadel,  
 New rubbed with balm, expatiate and confer  
 Their state affairs.

Pope's lines are a good average sample; Milton's are comparatively commonplace and colourless for him, yet, except in the line

O'er dusky fields and shaded waters fly,

Pope does not work his own mind or ours as Milton does. He is smooth, clear, fluent, swift, "elegant;" but the effect he produces is little more than that of embellished prose. "Flowery toils," "fragrant dew," "wing'd colonies," "sweets the blossoms yield," betray a formal condescending attitude to the natural objects depicted. Pope handles his materials as with a gloved hand; he

shrinks from a plain word without a decorating epithet as from something coarse and undignified. There is veneer and glittering gilt over everything. He speaks through a muffler of artifice. He looks at things through gauze; turns away his face from the indecency of naked nature or simple truth. Thoughts trip through his couplets with the mincing step of a minuet and tricked out in coloured silk and frill and periwig. Sharp as a needle, swift as an arrow, in wit and epigram, he is lame and faint when he attempts finer poetic effects. In common with his time he was the victim of a convention that sought in language a gaudy substitute for the thing instead of its close-fitting garment; and in the realm of pure poetry, where we look for lofty thought and vivid imagination, he was denied open vision and free soaring flights. He sang in a cage, not upon a branch. His best work was satire; that is, he excelled where pure poetry is most easily dispensed with. He said of Shakespeare: "It is not so just to say that he speaks from nature, as that she speaks through him." He himself was at two removes from Shakespeare in this; for he read nature not in the original but in the authorised version of the fashionable world. Though he wields language with such astonishing skill, he seldom works the miracles with it that proclaim the divine poet. He was a much cleverer man than Wordsworth; but Wordsworth lived in a wonderful country, which Pope had not even seen through a telescope.

The most brilliant electric light is not sunshine; but we do not therefore deny it the name of light. Our definition of light must leave room even for candles and lucifer matches. Nevertheless, we persist in taking our governing idea of light from the white brightness of day. And, with regard to poetry, while our definition must be hospitable enough to admit Juvenal's Satires and the *Dunciad*, we still attach our dominant idea of poetry to work of a higher and essentially finer kind.

Courthope, a critic distinctly friendly to the eighteenth century, finds the only working definition of poetry in this, that it is "the art of producing pleasure for the imagination by means of metrical language." "The test of poetry is the extent and quality of the pleasure it produces." The definition is intended for a counterblast to Matthew Arnold and Swinburne with their respective canons of "high poetic seriousness" and "imagination and harmony." But we fail to see—and Courthope himself was half aware of the objection—how his definition, any more than Arnold's or Swinburne's, carries us "a single step in advance of our own perceptions." At most Courthope only teaches us to be more modest in our demands; he strokes down and conciliates our perceptions with a view to making them less fastidious. One does not surmount "the anarchical maxim—*De gustibus non est disputandum*" by saying: "The man who can, by his metrical writing, produce pleasure in the mind of any reader is *pro tanto* a poet. But since we are all constituted more or less after the same fashion, metrical writing, if it is worth anything, must be capable of exciting general pleasure, and pleasure in the mind of good judges. If it can do this it is presumably good poetry." Thus what has pleased, and pleased long, is poetry. Now Swinburne and Arnold only adventured further and faced the deeper question, whether reasons may be found for this pleasure given to good judges and confirmed by a sufficiently long trial. Courthope chose the safer part in declining to meddle with causes. The plain man who says, "This is good water, for people have used it with satisfaction for fifty years," need not quarrel with the analyst who tests and tabulates its composition. Courthope imputes to Arnold's and Swinburne's principles a stationary subjectivity, an incapacity to carry us beyond personal feeling; but his own views lie more open to the charge; for, in spite of his reliance on numbers, and judges, and time, he chooses to imprison himself more closely in subjectivity than they. We do not escape from

subjectivity by calling in other people's subjectivity to reinforce our own. Courthope says, "This pleases, therefore it is poetry," and thinks that ends the matter ; Arnold and Swinburne look for the end further on, and say the pleasure is accounted for by high poetic seriousness or criticism of life, or by imagination and harmony in the work. Arnold and Swinburne seek some ground for our admirations and delights; Courthope accepts the *chose jugée*, asking, or at least explicitly answering, no further question.

But, apart from objections to his argument, Courthope is wholly justified in the comprehensive aim of his definition. Nor is there anything in it at variance with Swinburne's doctrine, which was propounded against some controvertible dogmas of Matthew Arnold. As for these dogmas themselves, they are, perhaps, misunderstood. In the stress he lays on "criticism of life," "truth and seriousness," "noble and profound application of ideas," Arnold is promulgating counsels of perfection rather than defining poetry or legislating for it. He does not proclaim what verse must be to be poetry, but gives his conception of what is found in the highest poetry. That incapacity for vigour and rigour, which he was too ready to parade as a distinction, produces occasional confusion in his exposition of his views, and consequently also in the mind of his reader. He is only too persistent in the use of any good phrase of his begetting or adoption ; but we must track it here and there with patience, and study its varying context and protean attributes, before we can conclude that we know the writer's mind or have done justice to his intention. Arnold in fact does not condescend to definitions of poetry except in grand pronouncements like, "Poetry is nothing less than the most perfect speech of man, that in which he comes nearest to being able to utter the truth." He formulates no poetic *Quicumque vult*. He does battle not for mere poetry, but always for poetry *in excelsis*. He may speak of "exceedingly fine poetry," and yet characterise it as



"not in the grand style," not the supreme sort of achievement. He asks not, who shall be saved? but who shall be canonised? Hence the frequent appearance of fallacy and crotchety paradox in his rich and stimulating writing on the subject. He does not sit down to pass or pluck candidates for a plain degree in poetry, but to determine who are entitled to honours. He wants to distinguish Swinburne's "Gods and Giants, Olympians and Titans." The question that occupies him is not, what makes poetry? but what makes poetry the superb thing it may be? Of course in estimating the validity of the answer, it is necessary to keep in mind what exactly is the question.

Matthew Arnold's "higher truth and higher seriousness" paraphrases a notable passage in Aristotle's *Poetics*. Butcher, whose translation is: "Poetry is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history," explains that *σπουδαιότερον* (Arnold's "higher seriousness") denotes "higher in the scale,"—"not 'more serious,' for the words apply even to comedy, nor, again, 'more moral,' which is quite alien to the context; and the reason of the higher truth of poetry is that it approaches nearer to the universal, which itself derives its value from being a 'manifestation of the cause or first principle of things.'" Poetry is not enslaved to fact in the same way as history; its business is with the soul of fact. It fashions a world nearer to the heart's desire. Not that its creations are unreal or false; for, if one may be allowed a paradox, it presents truth with profounder fulness by being at liberty to invent. Good history is true to facts, experienced or recorded, faithfully setting forth their character and sequence. Poetry is true to the idea, internally consistent, credible in the world it has made for us out of the ideal elements of the actual; making a more perfect cosmos than history can out of the chaotic welter of individual figures and events. It is imaginative; which is very different from being fanciful or fantastic. The suggestion in Arnold's "higher seriousness" with which Swinburne

quarrels—a suggestion confirmed by statements about forming the character and being edifying—is hardly justified, therefore, by Aristotle's teaching; and the imagination which Swinburne bargains for is in reality nearer the philosopher's intention in pronouncing poetry a more philosophical and a higher thing than history.

Coleridge understood Aristotle to mean that poetry "is the most intense, weighty, and philosophical product of human art." Poetry, in Wordsworth's view, "is truth, not individual and local, but general, and operative; not standing upon external testimony, but carried alive into the heart by passion. . . . Poetry is the image of man and nature. . . . The poet writes under one restriction only, namely, the necessity of giving immediate pleasure to a human being possessed of the information which may be expected from him, not as a lawyer, a physician, a mariner, an astronomer, or a natural philosopher, but as a man. Except this one restriction, there is no object standing between the poet and the image of things; between this and the biographer and historian there are a thousand." The poet thus deals not only with "joy in widest commonalty spread," but with truth of like catholicity.

The tale of Troy has an unfading bloom such as even the story of the Sicilian expedition, or the March of the Ten Thousand, does not possess. We make the surprising discovery that it is the history which is "all lies," as children say, that lives forever. This is so just because the poet made it out of his own head, wove freely in the ethereal tissue of human fancy and feeling. He seized enduring elements in the transitory world of his time and worked in a substance that does not "wax old like a garment." By being so much the mere creatures of imagination, Achilles, Hector and Ulysses are more the creatures of all time than Pericles or Demosthenes.

From this thought-provoking dictum of Aristotle, let us turn for a moment to his fundamental doctrine, that poetry, in common with all art, is "imitation of nature."

Here again the fine scholar already cited will help us. By nature, he informs us, Aristotle meant "not the outward world of created things," but "the creative force, the productive principle of the universe." In the useful arts men catch whispers of Nature's secrets and turn the knowledge thus gained to good account. Coming to what the Greeks called the imitative or liberal, and we the fine, arts, we discover underlying them, as understood by Aristotle, the idea that man divines the intention of Nature and gives expression to it. In a statue the artist endeavours, not so much to reproduce every detail, as to make his conception in its integrity stand forth and speak. He will concentrate on the significant features as he understands them, and his success will depend on the happiness of his choice and the execution of his purpose. The imitation of Nature which art thus achieves is often, we will not say an improving on Nature, but a more lucid and articulate presentment of her design in some given part of it. And in poetry, whose proper matter, in the Greek view, was the character, experiences and actions of men, successful work is a presentation of these in their inwardness and ideal compactness; not a meticulous labour on outsides, but a recreating and exhibition from within. It is thus, as Butcher puts it, "an expression of the universal element in human life." "It discovers the 'form' toward which an object tends, the result which Nature strives to attain. . . . It passes beyond the bare reality given by Nature, and expresses the purified form of reality disengaged from accident and freed from conditions which thwart its development." Like all fine art, poetry is ideal, not that it slights or contradicts reality, but that it gives to reality a clarified and intensified expression.

The higher truth and seriousness in the poet's imitation of Nature implies a peculiar ductility to the impress of the life of things and an exceptional capacity for recording it. The poet integrates and transfigures what the world presents in a flux of jostling and changing elements. He

captures the permanent substance, or it is left behind in his heart and mind when the rest has passed; he sifts the perennial from the moment as it flies. Having the intuitive power to penetrate Nature's purposes and divine her message, he becomes her spokesman. Nature is humanized in poetry; the poet is the mind and tongue she enlists in her service, to help her out with man and his insensibility. If we take Nature in the modern sense, what the poet does is to put into his work that which will affect us in a measure as Nature herself would if we had good eyes and ears. Do we not feel at times as if a beautiful landscape had something to say to us, but either it does not speak distinctly enough, or we are too dull to understand? The poet is our mediator and interpreter. In the actions and emotions of mankind also, where the Greeks saw the true sphere of poetry, the poet performs a similar part. He finds and exhibits all that counts, the significant things, what will produce the impression unaided Nature comes short of through her complexity and her babel of voices. The poet gives us a rounded, manageable whole, with all its parts vitally interrelated, an artistic unity, where nothing necessary is absent, nor anything excrescent or superfluous present.

The other factor in the poetic theory of the Greeks was implicit in the broader view of imitation and directly suggested by the very name of poetry. Poesy meant "making," shaping, invention. Even when the poet took history or popular myth for his theme, he exercised a creative freedom. He waved a magician's wand over the world of experience, or the materials supplied by memory, tradition and common belief. Wordsworth describes invention as the faculty "by which characters are composed out of materials supplied by observation; whether of the poet's own heart and mind, or of external life and Nature; and such incidents and situations produced as are most impressive to the imagination, and most fitted to do justice to the characters, sentiments and passions,

which the poet undertakes to illustrate." Here for once we may welcome Coleridge's pedantic word "eismplastic;" the office of invention is mainly a fashioning into unity of things lying in loose unconnectedness, building a whole in which every significant element is allotted a fitting and impressive place and function.

If we must have definitions of poetry, perhaps Watts-Dunton gives us the best:—"Absolute poetry is the concrete and artistic expression of the human mind in emotional and rhythmical language." This includes everything essential and leaves the accidental and debateable undetermined. Everything valuable in more ambitious or more profound and subtle definitions, such as Wordsworth's, Coleridge's, Shelley's or Leigh Hunt's, will find plenty of room here. "The spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" is not checked or chidden; the "record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds" has a place ready for it, though not to the exclusion of records of another kind, whose claim to entertainment in the many-mansioned house of poetry cannot reasonably be dismissed; the "utterance of a passion for truth, beauty, and power, embodying and illustrating its conceptions by imagination and fancy, and modulating its language on the principle of variety in uniformity" is allowed for in every particular.

Coleridge's definitions swing between the bare simplicity of *obiter dicta* like "the best words in the best order" and the subtle elaboration of more studied utterances. His power is shown better in digging about and examining the roots than in characterizing the flower. "What is poetry? is so nearly the same question with, what is a poet?—that the answer to the one is involved in the solution of the other." To the question in that second form his genius most spontaneously and most fruitfully addressed itself. How excellent are his judgments on the equipment and achievement of the ideal poet, or on what he calls "the specific symptoms of poetic power!" "Good sense is the

body of poetic genius, fancy its drapery, motion its life, and imagination the soul that is everywhere, and in each, and forms all into one graceful and intelligent whole." "No man was ever yet a great poet without being at the same time a profound philosopher. For poetry is the blossom and the fragrancy of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions, language." Thus we find ourselves aeroplaning as far above the pedestrian level of definition as with Shelley when he describes poets as "participating in the eternal, the infinite, and the one," or poetry as "something divine," the "centre and circumference of knowledge," the "perfect and consummate surface and bloom of all things."

Flights like these are exposed to the same criticism as Matthew Arnold's "higher truth and higher seriousness." They indicate not necessary qualities, but the utmost sublime possibilities of poetry. But Coleridge's gliding from the attempt at formal definition to the analysis of poetic power suggests the more excellent way to the secret of poetry. There is such a thing as poetic feeling, poetic temperament, a poetic attitude to life and the world. Before written poetry goes the unwritten; some broken music of the heart anticipates the song and continues when the song has ceased. Not at random did Wordsworth speak of poets who had never written, yet had gleams of a vision, stirrings of a faculty, divine. Swinburne is incredulous without due cause. Poetry in its many guises is but the accomplished utterance of thoughts and fancies, floating dim, wavering and elusive, in the general mind. We all have strange dreams, which are gone when we awake—"fallings from us, vanishings;" the poet is as one who remembers and records; as he tells his vision, we recognize again our fugitive glimpses. He speaks for the dumb soul of man. What poetry essentially is, becomes at least partially intelligible to us through those desires which it delights and satisfies. The power to appreciate casts light upon the power that produces poetry.

What we experience when poetry gets home to us is for us its intention. It is justified in its effect—the refined pleasure imparted by the felicity, beauty and melody of language, and by the soul of meaning that has so found for itself a body of glory.

Poetry is the expression in language of some aspects of the soul of truth and beauty in the universe, which many feel after, but only the chosen few surprise in moments of open vision. It is, in Shelley's phrase, "approximation to beauty," that beauty which is ever truth. Hence that is a strange delusion, though clever men here and there entertain it, which sees in poetry only "a matter of amusement and idle pleasure," the plaything of literature, an ingenious and pretty toy to gratify the child in man. It does indeed address the child in man, but in a finer interpretation,—the child man must be or become to enter the kingdom of heaven, inquisitive, open-eyed, simple-hearted, quick and sincere in feeling, ever wondering, never hard or unbelieving,—the child of eternity in us, which may be strangled or starved, but continues, till the vital breath is choked out of it, the child of God. Poetry is something like what theologians call a "means of grace," the freest, noblest handmaiden in the household of that universal religion, which is the love of the beautiful, the good, and the true.

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## THE CYCLE OF THE SEASONS IN A SANTAL VILLAGE.

BY DR. J. M. MACPHAIL.

THE Santal, as a rule, reckons time in two ways—by the agricultural operations, the sowing, hoeing, transplanting and harvesting of the various crops and the gathering of the *mahua* flowers, and by the festivals which are the red-letter days in his calendar. There is an important feast, called the *Sohrae*, which serves very well as a starting point for a review of the cycle of the seasons as it usually falls due about the end of December or the beginning of January. It is a sort of harvest thanksgiving, occurring at the conclusion of the work in the rice fields and threshing floors. It is a saturnalia, a time of unbridled licence, when the somewhat strict discipline which at ordinary times regulates the conduct of the young people of the village is relaxed, and the whole community devotes itself for three days and three nights to merry-making. On the eve of the festival the old men of the village bind themselves by a solemn covenant to put earth on their eyes and to stuff cotton into their ears during the days that are to follow, that they may be blind and deaf to things that are at other times forbidden. Each household contributes a fowl for sacrifice and some rice for brewing beer, and the serious business of the festival begins on the morning of the first day, when the village priest goes through an elaborate ceremonial in making offerings to *Jaharera*, *Marang Buru*, *Gosae era*, *Pargana bonga*, *Malik bonga* and the Five Brothers, which are the principal deities worshipped by the Santals. Squares are marked out on the ground, dedicated to the different godlets, rice is scattered in each, and upon the rice the blood of the fowls which are offered in sacrifice is sprinkled. On



one of the squares an egg is placed, and after the sacrifices are completed all the village cattle are driven over the place. Happy is the cow or bullock that treads upon the egg, for by doing so it brings good luck to its owner for the coming year. It is anointed with oil and smeared with vermilion and its master gives a special thankoffering to the common fund for the expenses of the feast. For the three days and nights that follow drinking, singing and dancing, with general debauchery, are kept up almost continuously. In former days the feast was inordinately prolonged, one village after another taking up the celebration in rotation. In the interest of law and order it is now decreed that it must be observed within a specified number of days, but neighbouring villages still arrange to have it so arranged that they can participate, to some extent, in each other's festivities. The closing ceremony is a distribution of a special allowance of rice beer to the villagers in token of the fact that the licence granted to the young men and maidens has come to an end, that any defilement contracted during its term is now removed, and that the decorum and decency of everyday life are to be resumed. The *Sohrae* is followed at no long interval by another festival called the *Sakrat*, when the special feature is a sword and shield dance by the young men under the inspiration of plentiful potions of rice beer. Hunting and various athletic sports make up the rest of the programme. Following the *Sakrat* comes the *Magh Sim*, or the sacrifice of fowls after the cutting of the thatching grass. Then comes the *Jatra*, when sacrifices are again offered in the sacred grove of fine *sal* trees, which is found in the neighbourhood of every Santal village. A feature of this festival is that some of the villagers work themselves up into a frenzy of excitement, when they are supposed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy. A little later comes the *Baha* or Flower festival, when sacrifices are again offered in the grove and the worshippers drench each other with water thrown from pots they have carried with

them for the purpose. In the matter of feasts the Santal is very catholic, always willing to honour other people's festivities as well as his own, if only they afford the opportunity for jollification. They are a pleasure-loving people; in their own words, wherever they have gone, and they have been and still are a wandering tribe, they have danced the earth hollow and drunk the rivers dry, before moving on to fresh woods and pastures new.

The interval between the rice harvest and the rains, within which these festivals fall to be observed, is the slack time in Santal village life, but it must not be supposed that agricultural operations are entirely in abeyance. Mention has been made of the thatching grass which is reaped as a rule in February, and there are the oil seeds that mature in the spring, the castor oil, the mustard, the *surguja* or Niger oil, whose brilliant yellow flower gives a dash of colour to a landscape that is beginning to be burnt very bare and reminds one of "the field of the cloth of gold." The leguminous shrub known to the Santal as *raher* (*Cajanus indicus*), which yields a *dal* to eat along with the rice, is also still standing in the fields, awaiting the leisure of the cultivator to gather it in. In a good season, too, a little wheat or oats may be sown as a second crop in the ricefields, and where sugarcane is cultivated the cutting and crushing have to be attended to at this time. But if the crops have been fairly good and the year is not believed to be for any reason unpropitious, this is the season when one matter of supreme importance engages the attention, and that is marriage. Among the Santals nobody but an idiot remains a celibate and the choice of a wife is a proceeding in which a very keen interest is taken by a wide circle of relatives. There are many ways of getting married in Santalistan, some of them more or less irregular, but most of them quite legitimate, except the marriage of a man with a woman of his own sept. The Santals are sub-divided into twelve sub-tribes or septs, and they are strictly exogamous, a

wife being invariably chosen for a youth from another sept than his own. There is no social offence regarded with greater disfavour than a breach of this law. The most orthodox form of marriage is called "buying the bride," but there is an arrangement called "buying the husband." If a man has compromised himself with a girl and is unable to marry her because she is of his own sept he may place upon her a dowry sufficiently large to induce another man to take her as a damaged article. There are runaway matches, too, of the young Lochinvar type, and there is even a recognized form of marriage, called "running in," where the maiden may force herself upon a youth, presumably with his acquiescence, but against the wishes of his friends. If the would-be bride can find her way into the house of the man she has set her heart on and brazen out all the taunts and jeers of her prospective mother-in-law for a night or so, the probability is that the opposition will be withdrawn and the young couple left in peace. There is also a way of suing for a wife "in *forma pauperis*." In the case of a girl who is deformed or otherwise unattractive, a youth, instead of paying cash down, may serve her father for five years and then departs, not only with a wife, but with a pair of bullocks and some rice and tools thrown in. In ordinary circumstances, when the time comes to choose a wife for a lad, the grandfather and some of his old cronies, or the father and his friends, go off bride-hunting. It is considered better as a rule to choose a wife from a different village as well as from a different sept. Arriving at a village, the emissaries ask the old men "Have you any diamonds to sell?" The correct reply is "That depends upon the quality of your pearls." They go on talking parables, as their manner is, till a bargain is made and a price fixed, —five rupees, as a rule, for a maiden and half that sum for a widow. The Santals hold high doctrine on the marriage question. A widow is free to marry again, but as she must rejoin her first husband in the next world she

only fetches half-price. If an agreement has been effected the youth's friends after a short interval visit the girl and give her a piece of cloth as a sign of betrothal. The money is then paid—this is called “the binding down of the thatch”—and a date for the wedding is fixed. The next step is for each party to tie a knot in a string for each day that is to intervene before the wedding day. Then the parties separate, day by day a knot is untied, and when the end of the string is reached the real knot is tied that makes the couple one. It is not, however, tied so very hard that it is impossible to unfasten it. Divorce is not difficult. It is called “tearing the leaf.” A leaf of the *sal*, the Santal's sacred tree, is torn in two, a piece is given to each party and the ceremony is completed. In the absence of the woman, an earthen pot may serve to represent her, the half-leaf being put into it. It must not be supposed that all the business connected with marriage is necessarily transacted in a single season. The Santals proceed about these things, as about most things, very leisurely and with great deliberation. Very likely the betrothal takes place one year and the wedding in the following year, but the matter may be expedited if necessary. The marriage is the occasion of great rejoicing, with eating and drinking, singing and dancing, and with an ostentatious exchange of presents, based, however, on the sound commercial principle of *quid pro quo*.

The marriage season being over the *mahua* flowers have to be gathered, about the end of March or early in April. This is a matter almost as important as marriage itself. The poor Santal, like millions of his equally poor neighbours, watches the ripening of the flower buds on the *mahua* tree (*Bassia latifolia*) almost with as much anxiety as the well-to-do cultivator scans the sky when the time for transplanting the rice seedlings draws near. To many of the poor the *mahua* crop is as important as any grown in the fields. All the *mahua* trees in a village are distributed among the ryots. The sweet, fleshy calyx of the

flower falls to the ground in the early morning. The tree is found growing gregariously over wide stretches of jungle land, and during the fortnight when the flowers are in blossom the air is heavy with their odour and the "pat pat" sound of their falling is like music to the ear. From before dawn the people are busy gathering the flowers into baskets. The bulk has been collected by 10 o'clock; the few stray flowers that fall after that are left to the gleaners, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, who have no trees of their own. Taking home their basketfuls, the people dry the flowers in the sun, it may be in their courtyards or on the threshing floors. Some of the flowers are used while fresh, being boiled in water till the water is boiled away, but most of the crop is beaten with sticks, sifted and bound up in straw to be kept as a food supply in working days when the stock of rice and Indian corn is running low. It is eaten boiled or roasted. Another way to prepare it is to wash the flowers well in water, to take them out and roast them and to boil the water down till it forms a syrup, with which the roasted flowers are mixed. The well-to-do, who do not depend upon the *mahua* as a food supply, value it for feeding their cattle, or they sell it to the manufacturers of distilled liquor for distillation. Passable imitations of French brandy have been made from the *mahua* flowers. The fruit of the *mahua* is gathered about a month later than the flowers, being knocked off the trees by means of long bamboos with a crook at the end. The kernels of this fruit, called *kuindi*, are split, dried and ground, and a fine, bland oil, very much prized for domestic purposes, is expressed. The rind is eaten, after being pared and boiled if unripe, or in the raw state if ripe. The fruit of the *sal* tree is gathered about the same time. It, too, is eaten, but it has to be cooked carefully to get rid of the bitter astringent taste. It is first dried in the sun and then burned to get rid of the "feathers" or "tail." It is then split by being rolled with a board and boiled in water

which has first been mixed with wood ashes and strained. When it has been boiled to softness, it is taken off the fire, allowed to stand for a day, then poured into a sievelike basket and well washed with water. Even then it is often boiled again along with *mahua* flowers.

Between the falling of the *mahua* flowers and the gathering of the fruit the great annual hunts take place, in late April or in May. All the hills and forests in the Santal country are divided into sections for hunting purposes, and each section is under a Master of the Hunt, called a *Dihri*, whose office is hereditary. The undergrowth in the jungle is burnt as a preparatory measure, a day is fixed—say full moon in the month of May—and a branch of the *sal* tree, with as many leaves on it as there are days intervening before the hunt, is sent round to indicate that arrangements have been made. The villagers offer sacrifices on the eve of the hunt, and on the morning of the gathering the *Dihri*, rising long before dawn, ties his wife's hands and feet and lays her on a charpoy with her face towards the centre of the room. Placing a vessel of water on the floor, he tells her she is to lie there, motionless and speechless, till she sees the water turn to blood. The slightest deviation from these instructions on her part will cause the hunt to be a failure. As the rays of the rising sun fall upon the water, the *Dihri's* wife easily persuades herself that it looks like blood and she gets up and goes about her domestic duties. When the *Dihri* himself meets the hunters at the appointed place, he is tied with his back to a *sal* tree and in this position performs the necessary sacrifices. Then the whole company forms into a line two or three miles long and goes right through the hill, killing indiscriminately everything that comes their way. All have bows and arrows, and a few rejoice in the possession of country-made guns, that seem more dangerous to those who handle them than to the creatures at whom they are aimed. Yet it is wonderful what execution they do. Many a fine sambhar falls

before the matchlock of the Santal Nimrod and the arrow often flies as unerringly and as effectively as the bullet. When a deer is slain the hindquarters go to the man who killed it and the neck belongs to the *Dihri*. In the evening the hunters camp beside a stream and cook their evening meal—for they eat everything they kill—and after that under the presidency of the *Pargana* or headman of the district from which the hunters are drawn, the *Dihri* and the headman of the various villages, a supreme court of appeal is held, to give a final decision in all matters that cause a division of opinion in the inferior tribunals or that are considered to be so important that they are reserved for discussion on this occasion. The constitution of the court is democratic. The opinion of the *Dihri* carries much weight in all affairs related to the hunt, and the *Pargana* is treated with the deference and respect which are his due ; but the final appeal is to the vote of the entire company. The whole night may be spent in debate, but in any case sleep is not to be thought of. If the work is finished before dawn, the rest of the night is spent in singing and dancing, including a special dance, for men only, reserved for these gatherings. In the morning the hunting is resumed, the whole company retracing their steps over the ground covered the day before till they finish up at the place where they began.

Another form of sport that serves as a recreation in the hot season is fishing. A great variety of implements are used, hooks and lines, nets and baskets, and a very unsportsmanlike procedure is the use of fish intoxicants from jungle products. These, thrown into the water of rivers or tanks stupefy the fish, which come floating up to the surface on their backs and have just to be gathered in by the basketful. It is a great occasion when the villagers who possess a tank in common agree to run off the water when it is at its lowest and to scoop out the fish from the muddy bottom. *Santals and others who work in the coal*

mines have discovered the use of dynamite for killing fish and sometimes steal it for this purpose, like the miners at Home.

The advent of the rains changes the whole face of Nature and brings in the busiest season of the year. Woe betide the man whose Indian corn has not been hoed at the proper time or whose rice seedlings are not ready for transplanting when the fields are ready to receive them. As a preliminary to the rice sowing, chickens are sacrificed in the sacred grove and a libation of milk is offered as well. There are auspicious days for sowing, and the first three days of Rohini are considered to be so favourable that even if no rain has fallen by that time a few handfuls may be sown as a matter of form. When the rice seedlings begin to sprout the demons have to be propitiated again by sacrifices. Meanwhile the fields have been prepared by two ploughings and the clearing away of weeds, some of which are burnt while others are allowed to rot in the water as manure. The embankments separating field from field have also been repaired. When sufficient rain has fallen to work up the fields into soft, slushy mud, the seedlings, now about ten inches tall, are uprooted and transplanted in little bunches of three or four. The people like to have the rice transplanted by the end of July, but there is a saying that there is still hope of getting a crop if it is finished by the end of the month Bhadro, which may be as late as the middle of September. The Indian corn is sown on the highlands about the same time as the rice, and the hoeing of it may be over, so rapidly does it grow, before the rice is transplanted. It is not very easy to please the cultivator in the matter of weather about this time. The Indian corn needs a good deal of sunshine but not too much, and the heavy rain that is needed for the rice may injure it. It is a precarious crop and it does not often happen that the conditions are equally favourable both for it and for the rice. On the other hand, a good *Indian corn crop* may be secured in a year when the rice is



to a large extent a failure. It is a wonderful sight to see the Indian corn growing to a height of six or seven feet in as many weeks and maturing in the manner described in *Hiawatha* :—

And the maize-field grew and ripened ;  
Till it stood in all the splendour  
Of its garments green and yellow,  
Of its tassels and its plumage,  
And the maize-ears full and shining  
Gleaned from bursting sheaths of verdure.

The “ green corn ” is usually ready for eating before the end of August and the people begin to fatten on it at once. The *bajra* (*Sorghum vulgare*) is sown about the same time as the maize and to the stranger may be at first indistinguishable from it. But it grows to a greater height, matures more slowly, and the grain appears, not midway up the stalk as in the maize, but as a handsome tuft at the top. It is one of the cheapest foods in the country, but is less nutritious than the Indian corn. Mention should have been made of the inferior varieties of rice sown on higher fields, which do not need transplanting and which are harvested early, generally in October. The millets and oil seeds are sown late and depend upon the rains being prolonged.

Time is found for a few festivals even at the busiest time. In or about August there is the *Chhata* festival, when a bamboo umbrella is hoisted on the top of a pole and the people dance round it with boisterous merriment and music, alternating with drinking, far into the night. Not unlike this is another festival, called the *Karam* from the name of the tree from which the branch is cut to serve as a maypole. The young people dance round this all night and then it is thrown into a tank. No sacrifices are offered on this occasion, but a libation of liquor is poured out to the spirits of the deceased village chiefs and to the demon-god known as *Marang Buru*. Then when the rice is beginning to turn yellow the *Janthar* is observed, when sheaves of half-ripe grain are offered in the sacred grove as the

first-fruits of the harvest. A pig is also sacrificed and the men eat its carcase in the grove. A similar feast is held later when the millet begins to mature.

The time when the Durga Pooja falls due, about the end of September or early in October, is usually the interval between the sowing and the reaping, when the Santal is on pleasure bent. The weather, too, is very agreeable, being neither hot nor cold, and almost every evening the sound of music and of song, of dancing and of merry-making, is to be heard in the village. In November it is time to prepare for the almost equally congenial occupation of gathering in the rice harvest. The threshing floor, where the family will spend most of its time for some weeks, is made ready by carefully clearing and levelling a convenient piece of ground, not far from the house, and smearing it with cowdung. A booth is erected of branches of trees, where some one will spend the night while the grain is still unstored, and also a platform for stowing away the straw, well out of the way of the cattle. The rice harvest is a cheerful sight, the operations of threshing and of winnowing recalling to the mind many familiar passages of Holy Writ. The reapers come in from the fields, bearing precious sheaves; the oxen unmuzzled tread the grain; the women, with fans in their hands, purge the floor, driving away the chaff. There in the corner is the very booth, we may suppose, where Boaz was sleeping when Ruth went to claim his help as her kinsman. At last the rice, bound up in great bales by ropes of straw, is stored away, and the people are ready for the *Sohrae*, with which we began.

These are the principal events in the year, but there are odd jobs as well. There are births and deaths as well as marriages, and the "new friend," as the baby is called, must be named with all due ceremony within a week of his birth, and the dead must be burned, a few of the charred bones being preserved and carried down to the sacred river Damoodah at a convenient time. There are irregular feasts, too, as well as those already mentioned—such

as the family sacrifice to the sun god, occurring perhaps once in five years and obligatory at least once in a lifetime. Now and again the shells of snails or fresh-water mussels are burnt to make a little lime to chew along with the tobacco, which is grown as a garden crop by almost everyone. Tusser silkworms are reared in the jungle and the cocoons sold in the bazaar or to itinerating merchants. Lac, myrobalams and other jungle products are also collected and sold. The even routine of village life is occasionally interrupted by a witch hunt, and in the punishment of a poor woman who has come under suspicion unsuspected forces of cruelty and brutality are let loose. The school has not been mentioned as one of the institutions of the Santal village, but there are places where it has come, and come to stay, and where the educational results justify the hope that these interesting people have their contribution to make to the progress of civilization in India.

J. M. MACPHAIL.

*Bamdah, Simultala, E.I.R.*

# HOW THE ENGLISH ACQUIRED THE TWENTY-FOUR PARGANAHS.

BY REV. W. K. FIRMINGER, M.A.

**T**HE Treaty, signed on the 9th February 1757, between Siraj-ud-daula on the one hand and Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive on the other, has been characterized as “neither honorable nor secure.” It was not honourable because it “did not punish the Nabob for the outrage by which the war was occasioned, or indemnify the Company for the expense at which it had been carried on;” it was not secure, because, while it was suspected that the Nawab was intriguing with the French, whose advent on the scene was expected, it failed to provide against the combination of the Nawab and the French in an attack on the English.\*

In justice to Clive it is necessary to remember that in the early part of 1757 his position had been extremely critical and he had come to feel that, “if something was not done, the squadron and the land forces would be soon starved out of the country.” In the early morning of 5th February Clive conducted a brilliant attack on the Nawab’s camp in what is now the Sealdah district of Calcutta; and such was the success of this effort that Siraj-ud-daula withdrew his forces beyond the Salt Lakes. Admiral Watson believing that the Nawab to be still far too confident in his superior numbers to be ready to listen seriously to the Select Committee’s peace proposals, sent his Flag Captain to Clive, with a letter urging that another blow should be struck before commencing negotiations.†

\* Elphinstone: *The Rise of the British Power in the East*, p. 290.

† “Till he is well threshed out, Sir, flatter yourself he will be inclined to peace. Let us therefore not be overreached by his politics, but make use of our arms, which are more to be depended upon, and I dare say will be much more prevalent than any treaties or negotiations.” Watson to Clive, 7th February 1757. Hill Op. Cit., Vol. II., p. 215.

On the 9th February, however, the Nawab intimated his readiness to comply with the terms of peace stated by Clive. When the circumstances in which the Treaty was concluded—the military preponderance of Siraj-ud-daula's army, the expectation of the speedy arrival of either Bussy's troops or a powerful French Squadron, the want of supplies experienced by the English—are remembered, it becomes obvious that Clive had good reasons for snatching at the opportunity of coming to terms with the Nawab. It is, however, important to notice that the essential claim made by the English was to be restored to the *status quo ante bellum*, and to be allowed to enjoy to the full all the privileges obtained in the past by "phirmaunds and husbhal-hookums sent from Delhi."

The text of the Treaty of the 9th February is best studied in Mr. S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-7*. Article III. provides: "All the Company's factories seized by the Nabob shall be returned. All the money, goods, and effects belonging to the Company, their servants and tenants, and which have been seized and taken by the Nabob, shall be restored. What has been plundered and pillaged by his people shall be made good by the payment of such a sum of money as his justice shall think reasonable."

The Nawab's acceptance of this condition is most unsatisfactorily worded:—"I agree to restore whatever has been seized and taken by my orders, and accounted for in my Sincany."\* The Nawab, however, had by word of mouth promised a sum for the compensation of losses sustained by private individuals, and it is probable that this and other verbal undertakings on the part of the Nawab account for the perfunctory way in which the subject of compensation is dealt with in the Treaty itself.

In regard to the matter of alliance, Clive had proposed to the Nawab's agents to include in the Treaty an article of alliance between the Nawab and the English against

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\* Sincany, Ives (*a Voyage from England to India*, p. 115) explains, means "Government books."

the French, but this proposal Siraj-ud-daula would not adopt; the Nawab, however, wrote both to Clive and Watson, protesting that their enemies would be also his enemies, and these assurances were regarded as sufficient.\* What then the English asked for in February 1757 was in sum to be restored to the position which they had held previous to the Siege of Calcutta, a sanction for their mint, and that "the villages which were given to the Company by the Firmaun [Farman], but detained from them by the Subah, be likewise allowed them; nor let any impediment or restriction be put upon them by the zemindars."†

The Treaty entered into with Mir Jafar on 3rd June 1757 (*i.e.*, prior to the victory of Plassey) differs from the Treaty with Siraj-ud-daula, in that—

1. It excludes the French from establishing settlements in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
2. It is definitely a treaty of alliance.
3. It initiates the process of destroying the Mughal military power in Bengal by engaging that the Nawab "will not erect any new fortifications below Houghly, near the river Ganges," *i.e.*, it practically places the entrance to the great river-system of Bengal in English keeping.
4. It in definite terms compensates the Company for the losses sustained during its war with Siraj-ud-daula.

In regard to the Company's lands, the relevant articles of the Treaty with Mir Jafar run :

"8. Within the ditch ‡ which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracks of lands belonging to several zemindars; besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

"9. All the land laying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Calpee, § shall be under the zemindary of the English

\* Hill. Op. Cit., Vol. I., pp. cxlviii-ix.

† Hill: *Bengal in 1756-7*, Vol II., pp. 215-17, and Acheson: *Collection of Treaties, Engagements, etc.*, Vol. I., p. 181.

‡ The ditch dug by the inhabitants during the Mahratta panic of 1742. Wilson: *Old Fort William in Bengal*, Vol. I., p. 156.

§ Calpee (Kalpi). The land granted by the *sanad* actually extended to the border of the Azimabad pargana, and thus further south than Kalpi. See Smyth (Major R.) *Statistical and Geographical Report of 24 Pergunnahs District, Calcutta*, 1857, p. 68.

Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them in the same manner with the other zemindars." \*

When the English took possession of the revenue rights of the Three Towns in 1698, the former holders received pecuniary compensation. The dispossessed holders of the Twenty-Four Parganahs, however, seemed to have suffered without receiving compensation of any kind. In a letter to the Court, dated 3rd November 1772, Warren Hastings and his Council write :—

“ The humane intention shewn in your commands of the 30th June 1769, and recommended in many of your letters since that date, to the rights of the zemindars who have inherited lands from their ancestors, encourages us to solicit your compassion for the antient proprietors of the 24-Pergunnahs, or Calcutta lands which became the Company's zemindarry by the treaty of Plassey, and from which they were consequently dispossessed. A small part of these lands were before that time united within the zemindarries of Burdwan and Nuddea, whose zemindars are amply provided for. The above zemindars and talookdars have continued since that time in a state of extreme indigence ; some of them have large families to maintain. It has been a usual rule of the Mogul Government, when any zemindar was divested of authority, to allow him a subsistence out of the rents of his zemindarry, proportioned to the annual income of it ; this proportion commonly amounted to a tenth. We would not recommended so large an allowance for these people ; we are persuaded that they will be contented with a much more moderate income, and receive it with gratitude. As this indulgence has been extended to all the other zemindars in both the provinces, since they were placed under your government, we have judged that this representation of the case of those who has been

\* Acheson : *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I., p. 186. The text of the Treaty as given in Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57* (Vol. II., p. 384) runs : “ That the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the river and the lake and reaching as far as Culpee, shall be put under the perpetual Government of the English, in the manner as now governed by the country *Zemindars*, the English paying the usual rents for the same to the Treasury,”

excluded from it would not be unacceptable to you " \*

The English lost no time in securing their new acquisitions. On 26th July Clive wrote from Murshidabad to the Court of Directors :

" It is impossible as yet to form a judgment how much the granted lands will produce you, as the Europeans are quite ignorant of the extent of the country between the river and the lake ; † but in order to give you some idea of the value, I will venture to estimate it at ten lacs per annum. An officer on the part of the Nabob is already dispatched to Calcutta to begin the survey in company with one of yours."

*The Press List of the Ancient Documents preserved at the Imperial Record Department* gives the following *precis* of

\* Apparently nothing was done, for, in October 1776, Hastings writes :—" I think it necessary to mention that I do not propose the appointment of Superintendent of the *bunds* of the XXIV Pergunnahs, but as a temporary measure only. Whenever the ancient zemindars shall be restored to their rights, or the lands shall be let on permanent leases, such an office will certainly be unnecessary, as the case of the *bunds* will be best left to the charge of those whose interest will be to keep them in order. The XXIV Pergunnahs are at present the zemindary of the Company, by the dispossession of the legal proprietors, whose hard case I have long since recommended to the justice of the Company, and mean to propose to the consideration of the Board, whenever the new Settlement shall be under consideration, having been at some pains for that purpose to collect the names of the old proprietors and their descendants with the property originally held by them in the old Pergunnahs." Francis : *Minutes*, etc., pp. 133-4.

Mr. J. Westland (*Report on the District of Jessore*, 2nd Ed., 1874) throws some interesting light on the history of one of the dispossessed proprietors in the XXIV Parganas. Manohar Ray, Raja of Jessore, died about the year 1705 and was succeeded by his son Krishna Ram Ray. Sukh Deb Rai, who succeeded to Krishna Ram Ray, was persuaded by Manohar's widow to make over four annas share in the estate to Syam Sundar, brother of Sukh Deb Rai. On the death of Syam Sundar, about 1756, the four annas share became untenanted. " At that time," writes Mr. Westland, " the East India Company received from the Nawab a grant of certain land near Calcutta, and one of the zemindars, whom the Nawab dispossessed in order to make this grant, was named Salah-u-din Khan. This man, representing that Syam Sundar's property had no heirs, requested its bestowal upon himself in requital for the loss of his former zemindari, and the Nawab not unwilling to give what was not his own, bestowed upon him the four anna share of the raja's estates . . . . The four annas share lay mostly within the pergunnah of Saydpur, and was therefore known as the four annas estates, or as the Saydpur estate, both of which names exist to this day . . . . At the time of the permanent settlement it was in the possession of a Mussulman lady, Mana Jan (Sala-u-din Khan's widow) and she is noted as having been a very good manager of her property. She brought it in safety through the critical time that succeeded the permanent settlement, and saved it from the dangers which overwhelmed almost all the other zemindars. In 1814 we find the estate in possession of Mana Jan's half-brother, Haji Muhammad Mahsin, who in that year died. Having no heirs, he by will made his estate over in trust for the benefit of the Imambara at Hoogly (Hughli), which has since that time enjoyed its revenues." For Haji Muhammad Mohsin and the Hughli Imambara see an article by Syed Hassain in *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. II., No. 1, January 1908.

† The Salt Lakes, in recent times much diminished in extent. Up to the time of Warren Hastings the usual route to Dacca lay across the lakes. Vide *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. V., pp. 171-3.



a letter, dated 27th July, from Clive and the Members of Council at "Muxadavad" :—

" Informing that the Connago's (Kanungo's) man has been sent on behalf of the Nabob to take an account of the lands, villages, districts, revenues, and other particulars of the territory from the Great Lake eastward of Calcutta as far as Culpee on the South ; recommending that, although these men may not be able to trace a proper boundary, it may be well for us to send capable persons to survey the lake, because, as is supposed the lake extends as far as Culpee ; then the Company's territory will be almost surrounded by water, and a communication from Baag Bazar \* to Kishnapore, on the borders of the lake, will effectually secure Calcutta from any country enemy, and stating that if the boundary can be exactly determined, they are inclined to believe that the Nabob will not only assent thereto, but put us in possession thereof, and confirm the same by ample grants."

In a letter dated 3rd August 1757, Admiral Watson, who had been requested to provide a surveyor for the newly acquired lands, replied :—" It appears to me to be a work requiring so much care and exactness, that I know of no one in the squadron capable of it ; and, if there were, I am very certain such a performance will require much more time than I shall continue here. But if upon an enquiry in the squadron, you find anyone who will answer your purpose, and is willing to remain in India, I will give my orders for his being discharged."† The Council, however, were able to secure the services of Captain Robert Barker ; and, on the day following the receipt of the Admiral's letter, Barker was told off "to accompany the Connegoe's man in the survey of the territory to be granted to the Company, taking with him Captain William Swallow, an artist and a seaman, and to prepare a plan of the course of the Great Lake, sound its depths of water," etc.‡

\* Bagbazar. Bagbazar in the northern extremity of Calcutta. A redoubt at this place was the scene of a skirmish during the siege in 1756.

† Long : *Selections*, No. 245.

‡ Press List Imperial Record Department, 4th August 1757.

Barker's report when completed was sent Home to the Court of Directors and neither the original nor any copy of it can now be traced. The Council at Fort William, however, appointed one of their Senior servants, William Frankland, as Collector of the New Lands and entrusted to him the task of compiling a statistical survey of the newly acquired lands to the south of Calcutta. This survey cost nearly Rs. 50,000, "as it was necessary for Mr. Frankland to carry a great retinue and a large number of servants of all kinds ; add to this that the King's Connegoes were maintained at our expence, as well as the gomasthas and other servants belonging to the zemindars, whose accounts we sent for." \* In forwarding Frankland's report to the Court of Directors the Council write :—

"No. 49 is a general abstract of all the pergunnahs to the southward † of Calcutta, and points out in a very circumstantial manner the quantity of ground contained in each of those pergunnahs, the number of villages, markets, zemindars and farmers, how much ground is assigned over to the Gentoo idols, to servants, etc., what quantity lays barren and uncultivated, and the net number of begahs that pay rent to the zemindars. By which it appears that out of 816,446 begahs the zemindars collect their rents on only 454,804 begahs, the rest being either barren and untenanted, or assigned over to servants, idols, etc.

"The revenue produced by the ground paying rent amounts to Rs. 5,54,604,479 ‡ per annum, to which if we add the ground assigned over to idols and what lays untenanted (which in a few years will be cultivated and settled with riots), the Company will be able to collect between nine and ten laack of rupees on the ground to the southward, computing the value of each begah as at present paid, and supposing the pergunnah contain no more than

\* India Office Records, Bengal : Letters received from IV., p. 101.

† Long (*Op. Cit.*, p. 157) says that a return of two parganahs to the north of Calcutta was also forwarded. To the north of the town of Calcutta the parganah Calcutta stretched, with the Hughli as its western boundary, to about Titaghur. North of this was parganah Haveli Shahr (corruptly Halishahr), in which the modern Barraekpore and Ishapore are situated.

‡ So the figure appears in the India Office Records. Long has Rs. 5,46,04,476 per annum—an incredible sum. Vide *Selections*, No. 378.

what the zemindars have given Mr. Frankland an account of ; but this remains yet to be settled, and will, we flatter ourselves, turn out more when a proper measurement is made of the whole, which ought and must be affected, as the square covers in each begah differ almost in every pergunnah as to the rents collected on them. We have great hopes likewise that by a proper management and encouragement, the value of the grounds in our boundary will in a few years be enhanced, and by that means the rent thereof increased.

“ By the above abstract the revenues to be paid the Nawab for the southern lands amounts to Rs. 2,15,000 or thereabouts ; but, as we have not entirely adjusted that point, and are in hopes of settling it more to the Company’s advantage, we cannot at present precisely ascertain what the gains of this zemindarry will amount to.” \*

For the first sixteen months after coming into possession, the Company’s Government kept the collections of revenue throughout their newly acquired lands in their own hands. In May 1759, however, they decided to let out the revenues to farm, and on the 21st of that month the following Rules were issued :—

“ Notice is hereby given that any person or persons who are willing to farm any of the pergunnahs or parishes in the Hon’ble Company’s new lands, may send in their proposals to the Board within twenty days from the date hereof ; a lease for which farms, if their proposals are accepted, will be granted them for the term of three years, on the following conditions :—

“ That the rents be not increased on the riots of the present tenanted riotty grounds untenanted (or Badgi jemint†) and in case any jungles (or palit)

\* India Office Records, Bengal : Letters received, Vol. IV., p. 95 *et seq.*

“ The lands of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs, ceded to the Company by the treaty of 1757, which subsequently became Colonel Clive’s jaghier, were rated on the King’s books at two lack and twenty-two thousand rupees. These lands were, for the space of sixteen months, retained in hand on the Company’s account, under the inspection and superintendence of a collector, Mr. Frankland, whose activities, abilities and integrity, in the execution of that trust, stood unimpeached.” Holwell : *Interesting Historical Events*, Part I., pp. 217-18.

† Bazi-zamin.

grounds are cleared, the farmer is to pay a russud or annual increase for the same according to the payments in the before mentioned term of three years. As soon as the measurement or Jumma-bundy is finished, the farmer is to pay for the increase of lands agreeable thereto. The farmer is not to turn out any riots that duly pay their rents agreeable to their pottahs. No trees are to be cut down without leave. The new farmers are to accept of the balances of the riots with the former farmers. The judicial authority is to be reserved to the Company with all royalties, etc., privileges appertaining to them as proprietors, and lords of the manor. The farmer is not to decide the disputes of caste, nor is he to licence marriages in his district without proper authority. If any of the ryots die without lawful heirs, the farmer is to take a true and exact inventory of his or their effects and send it to the Cutcherry, but is not to deliver or give up the said effects to anyone without an order. The farmer is to observe and obey all such orders as shall be sent him from time to time concerning the Company's business. The farmer is to take proper care and guard his districts with such people as shall be allowed him. He is not to grant lands for road, banks, etc. (Badgi jemin) without leave. He is to collect and receive rents from the ryots as usually have been collected by the former Ezardars ;\* he is also to repair all banks, dams, drains, etc., as customary."†

In June a number of natives came forward with an offer to pay net collections of the past year and an excess of Rs. 1,10,001, and submit to a penalty of forfeiting twice the amount of the excess if it should be proved that they had "increased any tax or sum upon the ryots more than common." On these terms they sought to farm the revenues of the Twenty-four Parganahs for a period of three years.

Holwell comments on this proposal in a minute entered on the proceedings of 11th June 1759. He maintained that "keeping the lands in our own hands will never

\* Ijarahdar.

† Long : *Selections*, No. 416. It had been decided on 2nd February 1758 "that no Europeans be suffered to purchase any of the Hon'ble Company's farms." Ibid. No. 340. See "the form of a lease to a zemindar in 1766." Long : *Selections*, No. 863.

lead us to a knowledge of their real value,\* and, after bestowing unstinted praise on Frankland, said "it is now impossible for any one man with the most extensive talents and integrity, to superintend this revenue in such a manner as to prevent the Company being injured; his attention cannot be everywhere, confidence must be placed in a multitude, and it happens most unluckily that this confidence centres from necessity in a race of people,\* who from their infancy, are utter strangers to the very idea of common faith or honesty." As to the proposal that had been made, he was apprehensive that the whole body of the lands might by a private confederacy "fall into the hands of people with whom we would not trust any part of our own fortunes, or confidence," and, therefore, he would himself offer Rs. 10,000 more per annum on their terms, "not that I wish myself, or anyone else, in possession of them, on terms so vague and artful." In conclusion he said—

"On the whole, therefore, I am of opinion that there is no effectual method to arrive at this knowledge, and make your lands yield every advantage to our Hon'ble employers, but by putting them up to public auction in single pergunnahs, under the restrictions already published. People of substance will be the only bidders for an entire pergunnah, the bad and unprofitable parts will go with the good and valueable, and the risque of deficiencies in the rents be guarded against; the expences of collecting will be in a manner reduced to nothing, and this branch of the service be rendered less complicate and intricate by our having 25 purchasers only to account with us, in place of 5 or 600." \*

To these proposals the revenue farmers,† whom the English had found in possession, naturally made objection, and presented the following humble remonstrance :—

"That the principal part of your petitioners are the ancient farmers of the Company's new acquired

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\*Long: *Selections*, No. 241. Holwell: *Interesting Historical Events*, Pt. I., p. 218. *India Tracts*, p. 173, *et. seq.*

†Long describes these persons as "Izardars." The word properly is "Ijarahdars."

lands, and have, with great labour and care, as well as at great expense, cleared the same from jungles, removing the savage inhabitants of the woods, in order to people the lands with human species, and by an indefatigable, unwearied industry of a period of years, have the happiness to see their labours rewarded and the lands flourish; for the still greater encouraging and promoting of which, their ancestors removed themselves and families and planted themselves in the heart of the new farmed lands, where they built their habitation, and by their presence and gentle treatment had the pleasure to see their tenants daily increase, whom they looked upon and treated as part of their family, and who were always ready on the least call to assist on any emergency, by which means all dacoits, thieves, etc., have ever been kept out of these lands; nor would so much of the lands have been barren and waste as there is at present, had not a check been put to our industry by the unjust and exorbitant taxes put upon the lands by the zemindars (or rather by the different Nabobs) by which even the flourishing state we had brought the lands to has been declining for some years past, and the rents have been constantly decreasing; when, on the joyful news of the Hon'ble Company's being to have possession of them, we were again revived with the pleasing hopes that we should see them rise under our care, not only to that flourishing state they were in some years ago but by the mild and just government of our hoped for new masters, we should in a few years have the satisfaction to see every beegah of ground produce its proper harvest to the honour and glory of the Hon'ble Company."\*

The Council had thus before them in 1759 the problem which was to occupy the attention of the English Revenue Administrators up to the date of Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement. The choice lay between collecting the revenue direct from the representatives of the cultivators or from the zemindars, or letting the collections out to speculative capitalists to farm. In 1759 the English decided in favour

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\* Long : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 203-4.

of the second method, Clive being of opinion that the arguments set forth in Holwell's letter were unanswerable. It was resolved unanimously "to throw the pergannahs into fifteen lots, and farm them out for three years certain to the highest bidder at public auction, reserving to the Company the royalties of the lands, as also the judicial power, fines, confiscations, burried treasures, etc." \* The auction was held at the Town Hall and the results were as follows : †

PARGANAS.	Rs.	PURCHASERS.	Rs.
Magurah	put up at 1,02,000	Radakissen Mullick at 1,26,100	
Moragatcha	„ 89,000	Mr. Samuel Griffith	1,20,000
Azimabad	„ 71,000	Sookdeb Mullick	80,500
Ghurr	„ 14,000	Chaund Haldar	17,000
Meddunmull and			
Ekaburpoor	„ 57,000	J. Z. Holwell	72,000
Causpoor	„ 10,000	Edward Handle	15,700
Hattiaur & Meydah	„ 50,000	J. Z. Holwell	51,500
Buridge Hatty and			
Ekteapore	„ 50,000	Condoo Gosaul	70,000
Mamudamypoor	„ 300	Ramchurn Nye	600
Shawpoor	„ 11,000	Sappulliram Biswas	13,300
Shownagore	„ 7,000	Ramchurn Nye	10,300
Dokinsagore	„ 2,000	Radakissen Mullick	3,800
Balliabussendry	„ 53,000	Ramsantosc Sircar	70,000
Calcutta, Mannpoor,			
Poycan & Habdishur	„ 45,000	Radachurn Mullick	81,500
Pichacooley	„ 21,000	Bullaram Biswas and	
		Bobany Churn Tagore	33,400

Sicca Rupees ... 7,65,700

The opinions of the Court of Directors on Frankland's report reached Bengal accompanied with directions for the establishment of a Revenue Council. In their General Letter to Bengal of 1st April 1760, the Directors write :—

“94. With respect to the Lands ceded to us, Mr. Frankland's letter is too prolix and not very intelligible, but his account of the different pergunnahs, the grounds and the revenues are judicious and clear. The barren

\* Holwell : *India Tracts*, p. 175.

† Long : *Selections*, No. 443. Spelling as given by Long.

and untenanted lands are very extensive, but through your care and attention, we shall hope for large encreased improvements. Coconut trees will grow in most soils, tho' Bengal we fear falls Northerly for them. We recommend it however to your consideration. Many tracts may be proper for salt, others for paddy, and some may suit the sugarcane; but as these are matters of such importance to the future prosperity of Calcutta, we will not doubt of your most assiduous application, and we shall entirely and confidently depend upon you. We do not wish to grasp at more than may be equitable or give umbrage to a superstitious and bigotted people, but if among the great parcels of land assigned to priests and idols abuses through neglects may have crept in, such only do we desire you will cut off. In the collection of these Revenues near 800 servants are yearly employed whose wages amount to near Rs. 50,000 per annum, exclusive of large portions of land. This is from ten to fifteen per cent. upon the Revenues, and here perhaps there may be room for Regulations; but still, if this has been established by ancient custom, and a reform may hazard uneasiness or bring an odium upon us, this is not desired.

“95. In all great and extensive branches there should be many checks, and although we do not doubt the honour and fidelity of our servants, yet we have frequently suffered from their inattention, and remissness; and in so copious a field for invention and improvement we cannot be too careful in methodizing a suitable plan.

“96. We, therefore, direct that these new acquisitions be placed under the management of a Committee, to consist of five persons (the second for the time being to be the head, together with, at least two others of Council), observing that the President is to take the lead whenever he sees it necessary,\* and all application to or disputes with the Country

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\*In their general letter of 13th March 1761 the Court of Directors order that the President be always head of the Committee of Lands, and they grant him 2½ per cent. of the revenues collected as “consulage or commission.” It is worth noticing that in 1766 the Court of Directors (General Letter to Bengal, 17th May, para. 17) wrote :—“We observe



Powers are to pass through his authority alone. Regular books are to be kept, and heads opened for the different pergunnahs ; these transactions to be introduced upon the General Books under the head of *Rents and Revenues of the New Lands* ; regular diaries to be kept of their transactions, entering all the observations, and necessary remarks ; the whole to be transmitted to us annually. It will be necessary that you appoint a covenanted servant as Secretary and accomptant to this Committee.

"97. Their monthly or quarterly accounts are to be delivered to the Committee of Accounts with their diary to be inspected and supravised, who are to certify their opinion. Such accounts are then to be laid before the Board ; and, when approved and passed in Council ; they are to be delivered to the Accountant, who must then, and not before, bring them upon the General Books. This Regulation will not affect the Collector of Rents and Revenues, who must still have under his charge (unless you have objections) the same confined districts that were under our zemindar \* before the loss of Calcutta.

"98. You are certainly right to order an exact measurement of all our new acquired lands, but we hope by more than one person and at no great expence. Such persons, if they have judgment, may from their observation of the different grounds, be able to furnish you with many beneficial hints ; and, if they strike out new advantages, we shall not be unmindful of their merit. Sensible and judicious is your conduct in pursuing lenitive measures and easing the tenants of real oppressions and burthensome taxes. By adopting these salutary maxims, our acquisitions

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that when we first took possession of the grant from Jaffier Ally Cawn, of the Calcutta lands, we immediately turned out all those who stood between the Government and the cultivators, and put the farm of the lands up to public sale, in which we make no doubt our servants acted for our interest, according to the best of their judgment ; but it appears to have been deemed by the natives an act of oppression, and contrary to the customs of Hindustan. However it was then a partial evil, confined to a small tract of country, and the Company had this to plead in their defence, that their whole territory, lying near to Calcutta, could easily be kept under the general administration of the Presidency, and this might be very justifiable and very proper for so limited an object." Verelst : *View, etc.*, Appendix, p. 137.

\* i. e., the Collector of Calcutta.

and Calcutta also, will in time be filled with numerous and useful subjects, attached to our Government, from interest or affection, and the English name be as much revered and respected as it has of late years been deservedly despised and detested, and to our late President, Colonel Clive, we chiefly ascribe this merit. Mr. Vansittart receives a particular mark of our confidence, etc., etc.

“99. The pergunnah of Corry Jurie\* that yielded formerly forty lacks and now only 2,925 Rupees we agree is a most striking instance of Government oppressions, or such vast tracts of country could not have become a desert; and we remark with pleasure that you are determined to give suitable attention to this important branch of our acquisitions, to render this country habitable, and to people it are your great objects. . . .

“138. Before your letters reach'd us, we had finished our contracts for silv'r for this season; and therefore, had we been inclined, it was not in our power to have furnished you with any quantity, but you amaze us in saying that your treasure will be exhausted in the year 1760 with supplies to Fort St. George, and your subordinates, compleating the citadel and the necessary expences of the Settlement. This is really at present past our power to comprehend, and should it prove a truth, your great and dazzling acquisitions will be the ruin of this Company, for it's a striking fact, that altho' we have benefitted upwards of a million sterling by the late treaty, yet not a single shilling of this immense sum has gone in aid to our returns, and by your representation the whole will be bury'd in your citadel.”

In reply to these instructions the President and Council, 16th January 1761, wrote :—

“107. The gathering in the Revenues was lodged in the hands of one of the members of your Council, under

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\* “The extent of the pergunnah of Corry Jurie is unknown; it reaches as far as Gunga Saugor to the south, and the Sunderbunds to the east; the revenue it formerly yielded, we are informed on good authority, amounted to 40 lacks of rupees, but the greatest part of this pergunnah is now uncultivated, uninhabited, and overgrown with jungle. The rents of it amount to no more than Rs. 2,925-9-0, and we pay the Nawab only Rs. 562-8-0.” Clive: *Proceedings*, 31st December 1758.

the title of Collector, who has regularly accounted for all the rents and revenues whilst that method subsisted ; and, since the receipt of your commands of this season, dated the 1st April, we have, according to the regulations contained in the 96th and 97th paragraphs, formed a Committee of New Lands consisting of three Members of the Board and two Junior servants, with an accomptant and Secretary, for the greater regularity in carrying on the business of their office. They will keep separate books and annually transmit you their proceedings.” \*

The correspondence between the Governor and Council and the Court shows that the Committee of the New Lands met once in each week. In order to obtain a personal familiarity with the circumstances of each individual parganah, the management, formerly in the hands of the Collector, was divided between the members of the Committee. On the 8th April 1762, the President and Council write to the Court :—

“ 9. The leases of the Calcutta pergunnahs expiring the first of next month, excepting that of Magurah, the Committee of New Lands have met very frequently to consider of the proper method of disposing of them to the Company’s best advantage with a view at the same [time] to their further improvement. Plans are prepared for dividing each pergunnah into smaller parcels, and we are agreed that the leases should be for a longer term to make it worth the farmers’ while to be at some expence for improving the ground ; but, on the other hand, we wish to have a more perfect knowledge of the real produce of the lands, that is—what the labourers reap from the grounds, as well as what they pay to the farmers, for we don’t find that the *debundee* or rent roll compiled by Mr. Frankland is at all to be depended on, nor that the farmers have been guided by that in collecting

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\* Previous to the formation of this Committee, there had been a Committee, appointed 21st September 1758, for the management of the new lands. Messrs. Watts, Frankland and Sraffton served on this first Committee. See *IVth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.*

the rents from the inhabitants, although by the terms of the leases, it should have been so. We also wish to have an exact measurement of the whole, and indeed we think both those informations very necessary before we let them on a long lease. We are inclined, therefore, to make a trial to acquire this knowledge by keeping the lands for one year in the Company's hands, and only to let the salt pans, which we have reason to think will become a very considerable separate article of your revehues. Mr. Cameron has made a very compleat survey and plan of the outlines of the whole from Saugur round the Eastern limit till he joined the river at Bankabuzar, which is the northern extent of your possession. He will proceed again with all expedition to make an inside survey and measurement of each pergunnah, which will give us a compleat knowledge of the number of acres in the whole and in each pergunnah. In the meantime, we propose that the several members of the Committee of New Lands shall have the care and management of the several pergunnahs in the manner they themselves divided them as in their proceedings of 1761 :—that they shall register the number of parishes in each pergunnah, the number of villages in each parish, and the number and names of the inhabitants (and) landholders in each village, with the quantity of ground held by each, the nature and produce of it and the yearly rent it has heretofore been rated at,—and that for the present they shall collect the same rents as were collected by the farmers until we can form a judgment from the registers and measurement how far they may be increased.”

The General Letter from Bengal to the Court of 30th October 1762, shows that the proposal to keep the parganahs in the Company's hands for a year was adopted. This fact would suggest that the Committee of Lands had found cause to call in question Holwell's belief that the putting up of the revenues to farm afforded the simplest means of ascertaining the value of the farms. This belief

was based on the assumption that no rational person would commit himself to an obligation to pay a lump-sum in composition for the revenues, unless he could see his way clear to realizing the amount and a certain margin as his own profit from the cultivators. Whatever abstract arguments might be advanced in favour of this view, in practice it was found that the bids for revenue farms made at public auctions, were, as a rule, of a wildly speculative character. If the farm was to last for the three years, in the first year the farmer would rent-rack the cultivators; and, if he found he could neither make a profit for himself or discharge his obligations, he would in all probability abscond; in the second year if he remained he would fall into arrears, and in the third, knowing the remainder of his time to be short, he would be grossly negligent. As the revenue farmer was seldom of the soil race, but a mere stranger in the districts, there were no ties of local interests to link him with the ryots, and the term of his office was far too short to allow for the growth of confidence. The temptation to make undue profits, if profits proved possible, or else either to abscond or become fraudulently bankrupt, had not been duly considered when it was maintained as plain commonsense that no man would involve himself in obligations to pay a lump-sum if the lands or customs would not produce such a lump-sum and an ample profit for the collector into the bargain. The speculative nature of the bidding excluded the possibility of deriving from the offers made at the auction any just estimate of the value of the lands or the customs.

In 1767 a number of natives offered for the farm of the Twenty-four Parganahs the sum of Rs. 10,00,001, but "the President continuing firm in his opinion that the lands are worth more than sum offered," the Council judged it "more conducive to the Company's interest to continue the Collection in their own hands, under the direction of the Collector General till such a time as the real value of

the lands are exactly ascertained.”\* The President at this date was Lord Clive and his opinion will be read with a special interest :—

“ With regard to the Company’s own, or Calcutta lands, I have but too much reason to believe that great injustice has been done to the Company in the collection of those revenues. The Select Committee had in consideration a thorough enquiry into their nature and value, but could not obtain the necessary insight, nor detect the frauds committed, until the expiration of the term for which the lands were rented to the late farmers, which was on the 1st November last. These lands now come under the department of this Board, and your utmost endeavours will not, I trust be wanting to ascertain their real value. If the gentlemen who formerly parcelled out the pergunnahs amongst themselves did not acquire large advantages, it is certain that the servants acting under them did ; for I am well informed that the banians of those gentlemen, as well as others, hold lands at the rate of 8 to 12 annas per Beegah while other tenants pay from Rs. 2-4 to Rs. 2-12. From the best information I can get, I find that the Calcutta lands may in a short time be capable of yielding to the Company between fourteen and fifteen lakhs of rupees per annum. Should that be the case, how reprehensible is the conduct of those gentlemen who so shamefully neglected the interest of their employers.”†

This statement was made by Clive on 19th January 1767, and he was, in all probability, relying on the researches of Verelst,‡ who contributes to the Proceedings of the Select Committee, 29th April, a minute of great importance on the subject of the Calcutta lands :

“ By the several accounts taken at different times of the measurement of the Twenty-four-Pergunnahs, it appears that the whole of the lands amounts to 10,82,543 beegahs 15 cottahs of ground, which has been cultivated but on account of Charity lands

\* Long : *Selections*, No. 480.

† Long : *Selections*, No. 941. See Grant : “ Analysis.” *5th Report, 1812*, p. 412. Grant describes Verelst’s report of 1767 as “ the completest most authentic hustabood investigation ever executed in Bengal.”

‡ See India Office Records Department, Home—Miscellaneous, 737.

pretended to be deserted, and others again secreted, not above two-thirds of this measurement have actually paid rents to the Company. A research into the cause of this deficiency, being well convinced that instead of a decrease there has been a considerable increase of inhabitants on the Company's lands, is what has particularly engaged my time and attention.

"On an examination of the Charity Lands, it appears that when the Company received charge of these pergunnahs, the total of the lands assigned for this purpose (an account of which was delivered in by the zemindars themselves)—

			B.	C.	S.
Amounted to	...	...	...	2,17,442	19 8
Since which there has been resumed	...	...	...	14,971	1 0

So that the total of charity land would stand at 2,02,481 18 8

instead of which it has by some means, probably by the villainy of the black servants in office, increased since that time to no less than Beegahs 2,63,702-2-8, by which the Company has been deprived of the annual rent of Beegahs 61,220-4-8, most, if not all, of which has most probably been disposed of amongst the black servants in office, or their dependants.

"In the account of these lands, it is said that Beegahs 25,679-13 have been lying uncultivated for a considerable time. As they were originally designed for and appropriated to the immediate maintenance and support of poor people, or to religious purposes, they could be of use only while they were cultivated, and ought immediately as they became neglected by the people who had charge of them, to have been resumed, according to the custom of the country, by the Company. I judge a considerable addition might be made to the revenues by obliging every person to produce the sunnud by which he is entitled to hold these lands. The amount of the lands allotted to the above charitable purposes, after resuming the Beegahs 61,220-4-8, I think is very considerable, for estimating the

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\* It will be observed that there is an error in subtraction, but the figures are given as in Long's *Selections*.

Beegahs 2,02,401-18-8\* at the medium rent of the other lands, the annual revenue will be no less than Rs. 3,14,638.

"The amount of ryotty lands, or those which are farmed out, appears in the cutcherry books to be Beegahs 5,91,172-9, producing an annual revenue of Rs. 10,12,305-12; there have, moreover, stood under this head Beegahs 29,363-3-12 said to be uncultivated, but from the several examinations made therein, I am of opinion that it is mostly cultivated, and ought to be brought to the immediate credit of the revenue. It also appears that the lands held the servants in office and their dependants have been estimated at less rent than they should have been by Beegahs 15,877-5-13, which will likewise be brought to account, as I see no necessity for douceurs where every man employed by the Company receives his monthly allowance, nor can I trace by what authority they held them at the low rate they have hitherto done.

"Under the head of commar, † or lands cultivated by contract, there appears to be Beegahs 1,98,305-19-12. The amounts of these lands must ever be uncertain, as the rents being paid in the products of the land, their value depends wholly on the sale of such products. However estimating them on a medium by what they have hitherto yielded, their rents will amount to Rs. 2,91,842-10-11.

"These together with the batta ‡ of rupees, buzzy Jumma § or collections made in the pergunnah cutcherries, salamies || on the weddings and visitation of the dees, called diderry, ¶ farms of tuffauls, \*\* salt and wax duties collected in the markets and ghauts, interest on money advanced for cultivation, repairs of dykes and bridges, rents of the collarys, †† the 15 dees, etc., of Calcutta town, are none of them included in the estimation I have laid before you. They also require a

\* Thus in Long.

† Commar, correctly *Khamar*.

‡ Batta. Exchange charges on various kinds of the rupees. The word is also used by sustenance allowance granted to the troops.

§ Bazy Jumma. Bazi-jama, i.e., lands held on various tenures, but exempt from revenue.

|| Salamies. *Salami* a gift by way of compliment, or in return for a favour.

¶ Diderry—*dihdari* (dih=village).

\*\* Tuffauls. Verelst defines a tuffaul as "a collection of callarrys, or salt pans."

†† Collarys. *Khalari*—places in which salt is made.



particular scrutiny, as well as the expences attending the collections ; and I am perfectly sensible that many lands are still held at a low unequitable rent, through the intricacies and delays attending these matters having prevented my finding them out.

“ As it will be impossible to fix the just value of the lands until their measurement and products can be ascertained, I would recommend that as many capable surveyors as could be procured should be employed on this business. They should be directed to form a register of all the ryots ; the quantity of land each holds and the usual products, when each ryot might have inserted in his potta the measurement of his lands and the annual or monthly rents he is to pay ; this will prevent the impositions of the black servants, or if you farm the lands, any oppressions of the farmers.

H. VERELST.” \*

Through the transactions recorded in the present chapter, the English Government professed a lively interest in the welfare of the cultivators. This has been instanced in the Rules for farming lands published on 21st May 1759—a document which has been quoted. The Collector’s orders of 1767 direct the native officials : “ the article of increase in the Hustahood you are to make a strict enquiry into, and what can be collected without injury to the ryots you are to collect and forward to me, and you are to be very particular in giving to me an account of the state of your pergunnah ; what improvements it will admit of, and what further benefits can accrue to the Company without laying the ryots under any hardships, it being the Company’s intention that they should enjoy ease and comfort.” †

\* Long : *Selections*, No. 946. Verelst, the grandson of Cornelius Verelst, the noted flower-painter, “ arrived ” in Bengal on 16th July, 1749, was second of Council at Jugdea in 1756 and Sub-Secretary at Fort William in 1757. In 1760 he was sent to Chittagong as Chief. In 1762 (11th March), his name appears as the last of the signatures of a protest against Vansittart’s policy. In 1763 he attempted an expedition to Manipur, but got no further than Khaspur in Kachar. In 1765 he came to Calcutta and was a member of the Select Committee. In the same year he was appointed Supervisor of Burdwan and in the following year of Mindapur. His inquiries into the Calcutta lands commenced towards the end of 1766.

† Long : *Selections*, No. 957.

Of the persons described as zamindars, the English at this time entertained grave apprehensions. The Council write to the Court, 8th September 1760, "without the greatest care being taken to prevent zemindars from carrying on long balances and defrauding the Government under various pretences, your collections would soon dwindle to a sum insufficient to defray their own charges, the authority of the administration would be despised, and the several rajahs and zemindars would assume to themselves an independent power, after they had fleeced the people and fattened upon the spoils of the public." \* In 1767 the Board took into consideration a joint proposal made by Raja Nubkissen and a member of the Ghosal family, to farm the Calcutta towns for three years at thirteen lakhs per annum. This offer the Board rejected on the ground that "Nubkissen's present situation gives him so great an influence in the country that the ryots might be alarmed and apprehensive of oppression." †

The "nett revenue clear of all charges" derived by the English from the Calcutta lands, including the older zamindari of the Three Towns, is indicated by the following figures, supplied by Verelst ‡ :—

May to the end of April.		Cur. Rupees.
1760-61	Cash received.	730,591
1761-62	do.	597,355
1762-63	do.	486,352
1763-64	do.	740,473
1764-65	do.	979,349
1765-66	do.	602,459
1766-67	do.	801,571
1767-68	do.	1,116,395
1768-69	do.	1,030,464
1769-70	do.	1,022,845

Verelst explains that the apparent variation during the years 1760-1766 was owing to the irregular payments of the sum of Sa. Rs. 2,12,332 which was due first to the

\* Long No. 885.

† Ibid No. 951.

‡ Verelst : *View, etc.*, p. 73. Compare *Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773*.

Nawab and latterly, as will be explained, to Lord Clive, "the revenues themselves having undergone no great alteration." The marked increase of the three last years must be regarded as the result of Verelst's organization of the revenues in 1766.

Before concluding it will be necessary to say a few words on the subject of Lord Clive's Jagir.\* On his creation as an Ormah of the Empire, Clive had expected that the usual jagir, or assignment of the revenues of a selected district, would be granted him for the support of his newly acquired dignity, and early in 1759 he wrote to the Seths, the great Murshidabad bankers, a letter in which he expressed his disappointment and asked them to use their influence to procure a jagir for him. On the 20th February the Seths replied that they had made an application to the Nawab, who, however, would not grant one in Bengal, or in Orissa, "which is very poor," but in Bihar.†

In the same year, 1759, Prince Mahomed Ali Gohur (afterwards Emperor Shah Alam) with the design of supplanting Mir Jafar in his government, entered Behar, at the head of an army, which at one time was supposed to number 40,000 men. The Prince at once sought to induce Clive to desert Mir Jafar, but, so far from wavering in his alliance, Clive gathered together a force of 500 Europeans and 2,500 sepoy and set out for Patna.

\* Jagir (jai—place, gir—taking. The Commissioners appointed in 1776 by Hastings to report on the land revenues, divide jagirs into two kinds :

1. Assignments of particular lands in order to defray State expenses, e.g., the fleet at Dacca.
2. Assignments for the support of individuals—  
 Altamgha—hereditary and unconditional.  
 Zati —"Zatee," personal and for a single life.  
 Mashrut —"Mushrobt," conditional on the performance of specified services.

Harington: *Elementary Analysis*, Vol. II., p. 66. See also an article by W. Irvine: *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, pp. 520-1.

† *Calendar of the Persian Correspondence*, Calcutta, 1911, No. 48. See also Auber; *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, 1837, Vol. I., p. 75, and *A letter to the Proprietors of the East India Stock from Lord Clive to which are added the opinions of the Hon. Charles York and Sir Fletcher Norton on his Lordship's Jaghire*, London, 1764 (Reprinted 1764), and *The Opinions of Mr. James Eyre, Mr. Edward Hoskins, Mr. E. Thurlow and Mr. John Dunning on the subject of Lord Clive's Jaghire; to which are added his Lordship's letter, etc.* London. (No date). For the *Sanad*, etc., connected with the Jagir see Acheson: *Treaties*, etc., Vol. I., Appendix.

Having relieved that citadel, Clive returned to Murshidabad, where the Nawab Mir Jafar, either out of gratitude, or as a means for securing or confirming Clive's fidelity, bestowed upon him the jagir of the lands known as the Twenty-four Parganahs. It has been seen that when those parganahs were entrusted as a zamindari to the Company, the revenue to be paid annually into the Nawab's Treasury, by the Company, was fixed by the *sanad* at Rs. 2,22,958-10-2-3. The effect of Clive's acquisition of the jagir was that the Company's fixed revenue quota, instead of being payable to the Nawab's Treasury became payable to Lord Clive. When the Company in England, at a later time, chose to quarrel with Clive, they raised the question of the legality of this transaction; but it must have been obvious to any disinterested person that Mir Jafar's right to bestow the Jagir on Clive stood on precisely the same ground as his right to bestow the zamindari on the Company. It has been said that "Clive was man of the world enough to know that his position as at once servant and landlord of the Company was an impossible one,"\* but it does not appear that Clive was ever conscious of standing in this double position. The criticism seems to be based on a misunderstanding, for what Clive received was not a "quit-rent" on lands let to the Company, but an assignment of the revenues. Had the Company, as the result of some political misunderstanding, determined to withhold the payment of the revenues due from them, Clive would have been simply a sufferer without means of securing redress. To suggest that as Jagirdar he could have deprived the English of their Zamindari, or treated them as a landlord might treat tenants at will, is to misunderstand what is meant by the term jagir. By a *sanad* from the Nawab, dated 23rd June 1765, and a farman from the Emperor of the same date, the jagir was

\* *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI., Page 557.

confirmed to Clive for ten years from the 10th May 1764 ; after the expiration of this term, or on Clive's death if occurring within it, the jagir was to vest in the Company as an *altamgha* \* or unconditional and perpetual gift.

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\* *Altamgha*—a royal gift, "so called from two Turkish words signifying *red* and *seal*, such grants having been formerly sealed with a red seal."—*Field*.

## STONEWALL JACKSON.

BY W. C. WORDSWORTH, M.A.

ON 2nd May 1863 the armies of Lee and Hooker fought the great battle of Chancellorsville in the wilderness of Virginia. Sixty-two thousand Confederates shattered an army of a hundred and thirty thousand Federals : American tactics reached their point of highest brilliancy : Richmond was for the fourth time saved by the overthrow of the invading army. On the other hand the victory was fruitless : Hooker's army, broken and in confusion was allowed to struggle into safety, and the desperate battle at Gettysburg, exactly two months later, showed that the impulse of victory had died away in the Southern soldiers. Stonewall Jackson was wounded at Chancellorsville, shot by his own men in the darkness, and died a few days later. It is now generally admitted that but for his disablement Hooker's army would have been destroyed, not merely defeated at Chancellorsville, and that his death robbed the South of the greatest ability to complete and turn to account victories that the war produced. It will not be unfitting to pay some attention to his great claims to memory, and from the vantage ground of fifty years later to cast a glance at the gigantic struggle in which he played his remarkable part : that in India military history is seldom studied and American history is regarded as unimportant may serve as some measure of justification for this article which has no pretension to originality of view. Of some two hundred university students whose papers at a recent examination were read by the writer, not one seemed to be aware that the contest of the North and South involved other questions than slavery, yet all were supposed to have read

something of American constitutional history, and to have studied President Woodrow Wilson's book on "The State." Important as was the question of slavery, the political considerations involved were no less important, and once war broke out they were the more prominently emphasised by those responsible for the conduct of affairs. Correct history tells of the "War of Secession" and discusses the rival theories of State rights and undivided sovereignty, but the political, the economic, and the social are inextricably bound together, and as the war progressed, all were in turn employed as argument, justification, and grievance.

"There is nothing just or unjust," wrote Pascal in a famous passage, "which does not change its quality with a change of climate. Three degrees of latitude overturn the whole science of law." The relation between the geographical, moral, and economic differences of the North and the South States has long been a favourite subject with philosophers, and the differences were bound up with differences of tradition and origins. The cold Northern States were peopled first by immigrants of the stern Puritan stock who in many cases had left Europe to avoid religious persecution, and had extended the area of their settlements partly through natural increase of numbers, partly through religious intolerance giving rise to a series of secessions. To these were added in the early part of the nineteenth century a strong influx of Germans, stern, industrious and austere, like the Puritans, patient, laborious, despising servitude. The South on the other hand was populated first by cavalier adventurers, and the tendencies then transplanted into America were developed steadily with the centuries. Thus, the people of the North was marked by a simplicity of life, and avoidance of luxury, an earnestness of temper, and a growing acceptance of belief in the equality of men, in contrast with the Southern luxury, ostentation, love of domination, and all that marks an aristocracy based on wealth and social position.

The differences were accentuated and confirmed by economic developments : the North, rich in coal and iron,\* became the manufacturing land : the South remained the land of great plantations. Experience has shown that slavery, everywhere economically unsound, is especially so in enterprises involving the use of machinery, and the early abolition of slavery in the North was due as much to a recognition of this principle as to a higher standard of morality. In the cultivation of large estates in the semi-tropical South slavery seemed, except to certain acute observers, to be a wealth-producing institution. Where a large number of workers could be employed under circumstances of easy supervision, as on cotton, sugar, and rice plantations, slavery was necessarily destined to a longer life than in the colder North. In the discovery that the South was peculiarly suited for the cultivation of cotton, and in the industrial inventions that cheapened cotton goods, is to be sought the explanation of Southern slavery. It was not a mere blot upon the organisation of Southern society : it was the basis of that society, and the abolition of slavery meant economic, social, moral, and political revolution.

This was the position when the abolition movement was begun. Before 1860 the abolitionists were not numerous, but in violence of expression and in persistence they compensated for lack of numbers, and they soon had the South exasperated to frenzy. The Southern lords were not responsible for slavery : the North, and England, and Spain, were no less to blame, but by their bitterness against the planters and their want of anything that resembled a conciliatory spirit the abolitionists had made war inevitable at least ten years before it broke out. The words of Garrison may be taken as the standing orders of the movement : " I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest :—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard." " I take it for granted slavery is



a crime—a damning crime : therefore my efforts shall be directed to the exposure of those who practise it.” For thirty-one years this violent temper characterised the abolitionist cause, nor were all leaders of the movement as discreet as Garrison, who was careful not to address himself to slaves, nor to say anything that might incite them to revolt. The discretion was not however appreciated in the South, which had been thoroughly alarmed by the Nat Turner rising in Virginia in 1831, and lived perpetually in terror of a negro insurrection : nor could they see the justice of attacking slave holders when the North in its industrial progress was building up a mighty system of proletarianism. Was the lot of the slave worse than that of the pauper in a Northern city ? Was the planter more brutal than the capitalist of the North, who sweated his labour while it could serve him, and flung it into the streets to perish of starvation or disease when its strength failed ? In looking at the questions in dispute from this distance, we should remember that the word “slavery” was in itself a potent ally of the abolitionists, easily rallying to their side numbers of the unthinking. As the churches have usually been able to win support for themselves by dubbing their enemies heretics, so the New England reformers strengthened their forces by a skilful use of the inflammatory word. Slavery is one form, a detestable, but not the only detestable form, of the economic relations between the fortunate and the unfortunate. Civilisation itself, with its good as well as its evil, was impossible until one race had overcome another and kept it in subjection, that it might do the dirty work for its conquerors. Men being what they are, any superiority of courage, wealth, social position, intellect and the like necessarily expresses itself in the avoidance of the hard and unpleasant work of life, which is relegated to the less fortunately endowed or equipped : civilisation tries and discards, one after another, various forms of this relation—slavery, villainage, caste differentiation—and the form now

almost universal, the dependence of labour upon capital, is undergoing criticism and attack in many countries. In the Southern States slavery seemed to have taken a new lease of life, with the growing importance of cotton, but there were those who saw, as Washington and Jefferson had seen long before, that slave labour exhausts the soil, and that, unless new lands are available from time to time, slavery means declining wealth. In the years immediately before the war, the feeling of aversion to slavery was spreading rapidly in parts of the South, Delaware had practically abandoned it, and in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri the number of slaves was rapidly decreasing. The unjust Mexican War of 1845 had served to emphasise the economic weaknesses of slavery, and in spite of the prevailing self-sufficiency of the South and its contempt for spiritual considerations, a high standard of morality and a great degree of enlightenment were found in many of its prominent men. Lee's off-quoted words are representative of the point of view of the better men of the South. "In this enlightened age there are few, I believe, but will acknowledge that slavery as an institution is a moral and political evil. It is useless to expatiate on its disadvantages. I think it a greater evil to the white than to the coloured race, and while my feelings are strongly interested in the latter, my sympathies are more deeply engaged for the former. The blacks are immeasurably better off here than in Africa—morally, socially, and physically. The painful discipline they are undergoing is necessary for their instruction as a race, and, I hope, will prepare them for better things. How long their subjection may be necessary is known and ordered by a merciful Providence. Their emancipation will sooner result from the mild and melting influence of Christianity than from the storms and contests of fiery controversy. This influence, though slow, is sure. The doctrines and miracles of our Saviour have required nearly two thousand years to convert but a small part of the human race, and even

among Christian nations what gross errors still exist. While we see the course of the final abolition is still onward and we give it the aid of our prayers and all justifiable means in our power, we must leave the progress as well as the result in His hands, Who sees the end and Who chooses to work by slow things and with Whom a thousand years are but as a single day. The abolitionist must know this, and must see that he has neither the right nor the power of operating except by moral means and suasion; if he means well to the slave, he must not create angry feelings in the master. Although he may not approve of the mode by which it pleases Providence to accomplish its purposes, the result will nevertheless be the same; and the reason he gives for interference in what he has no concern holds good for every kind of interference with our neighbours when we disapprove of their conduct." The last sentence fastens on a vital element of the question at issue. The North and South were now in effect separate nations, each having the power of winning to itself the sympathies of immigrants. "After the American Revolution," says Rhodes, "the difference between the Virginian and the man of Massachusetts increased so that it became the remark of travellers, the theme of statesmen, and finally a subject for the arbitrament of the sword. In that contest the Scotch-Irishman of South Carolina fought on one side and the Scotch-Irishman of Pennsylvania fought on the other; but in the seventeenth century, on their native soil, they would have stood shoulder to shoulder in a common cause." Of these nations the one arrogated or appeared to arrogate to itself the right of interference in the domestic concerns of the other and to satisfy its moral aspirations without cost to itself. As the contest of opinions progressed, violence of words was attended by violence of action, until the history of the borderland between North and South resembled the condition of affairs one reads of in Parkman. To this result abolitionist literature, and particularly "Uncle Tom's Cabin,"

its most famous production, contributed greatly, the latter by its wonderful fascination taking the burning question of the day out of the domain of reason into that of hysterical sentiment with disastrous results. Much labour has been expended in collecting material wherewith to prove the fidelity to truth of the narrative, and it may be at once conceded that everything in the story had its counterpart in fact, yet it remains a monument of mendacity,—mendacity inasmuch as it gives the atmosphere of universality to what was admittedly exceptional. If those lies are blackest which are partly true, not even the brilliancy of the work can soften the regret that such a weapon was used in the struggle. Its immediate influence was great, and the boys who read it in 1852 were the voters and warriors of 1861, but its influence did not cease with the abolition of the evil against which it was a passionate protest, and the subsequent failure of America to solve the negro problem in the Southern States may in part and with reason be charged against it.

The long war of opinions, intrigues and hatred grew increasingly envenomed, and in its course the question of state-rights was thrust forward. Was America a federation or a confederacy? had the states abrogated their sovereignty by union, or was their sovereignty simply in suspense, to be resumed when they willed? had they the right to secede or had they not? These were questions which the Constitution did not answer, and which honest men might answer differently. If the Union could not be maintained by friendship and willing co-operation, there were many who saw no justification for its maintenance.

The belief grew rapidly in the South that if they remained in the Union they would not be fairly treated: it would seem to be a misreading of history to argue that this belief was developed factitiously by way of counter to the spreading demand for abolition. There was much affection for the Union in the South, which never forgot or ceased to admire the contribution of

Southern statesmen to its establishment, and it was with feelings of the deepest regret that most of the Southern States seceded. The North misunderstood the march of events: confident that few in the South would dare to fight for slavery, and that the Southern people were terrorized by a ruffianly minority, from whose tyranny they would welcome the prospect of release, the people of the North, or at least the violent partisans who presumed to speak in their name, gave every indication that they were prepared to proceed to the utmost length of coercion and unconstitutionality to maintain their views. As the South held to the doctrine that secession was constitutional, it responded with an unanimity of resistance which no menace against slavery could have produced. When affairs were at this tension, the elections of 1860 raised to the Presidency Abraham Lincoln, a Republican of Illinois, who had consistently vindicated the rights of freedom against slavery. Events moved rapidly. Before the year was out South Carolina by a formal ordinance seceded from the Union, a step accompanied by uncontrolled and thoughtless rejoicings. Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, followed within a few days. The Border States at first endeavoured to remain neutral, and Virginia, "Mother of States and Statesmen, mother of Presidents," made a supreme effort to save the Union by summoning the Peace Convention at Washington. This effort was fruitless; on the same day on which the Convention met delegates from six cotton states assembled at Montgomery to form a Southern Confederacy. Four days later Jefferson Davis was unanimously elected President of the Confederacy, and the cleavage was assured: two republics faced each other, having the same memories and traditions, venerating the same Constitution and with one exception possessing the same institutions—but in consequence of an indefiniteness in that same Constitution, and of their different views of that one exception impelled to entrust to the arbitrament

of war the merits of their causes. Americans, like the English, do not fight for theoretical opinions, yet few will deny that both sides were sustained and fortified in the great struggle by the belief that they were fighting against evil for righteousness' sake. Great revolutions imply great principles. Henderson, in referring to this as the fourth great Revolution of the English-speaking race, defines their principles as the liberty of the subject in 1642, the integrity of the Protestant faith in 1688, the consent of the taxed to taxation in 1775 and the sovereignty of the individual States in 1861.

In April South Carolina, intoxicated by passion and hysterically overconfident, attacked and captured Fort Sumter, the Charlestone Fort held by a Federal Garrison, and the Union flag was hauled down. Lincoln's reply was prompt and peremptory. 75,000 militia were called out to suppress the rebellion and all the States which had not seceded were required to furnish their quota. Whether more sympathetic consideration of the difficulties of the Border States would not have limited the area of the conflict and contributed to its speedy conclusion is a question which though unanswerable has more than speculative interest. Lincoln's policy, however, had the merit of clearly and rapidly defining the issues: Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina, summoned to invade the territories of states whose conduct they held to be perfectly legitimate, were forced out of their neutrality, and rather than belie their principles rejected the President's mandate. Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and Delaware joined the North, the former three regretfully, Delaware with greater willingness. West Virginia, beyond the Alleghanies, also threw in its lot with the North, to the great indignation of the rest of the State; even Lee, moderate in opinions and careful in words, branded the West Virginians as traitors, and attempts were made to bring them into line with the rest of the State, but McLellan's early victories completed the overthrow of the Confederate party in that quarter, and

West Virginia was recognized by the North as a separate state.

The accession of these Border States to the Confederacy had far-reaching results. Virginia offered it a capital, an army of brave and high-spirited men, no inconsiderable accession of wealth, and, above all, officers of great ability, of whom Lee, Johnston and Jackson are the most famous. It is generally accepted that Lee, known throughout the Union as a brilliant soldier, might have had the command of the Federal forces, had he decided to remain true to the Union and to disregard the call of his own state. Johnston, like Lee, was opposed to secession, but saw his duty clear when Virginia seceded. "It is easy," wrote Rhodes, "to understand why both Davis and Lincoln were so anxious for the adhesion of Virginia. Her worth was measured by the quality as well as the number of her men. Reflect that her secession gave to the Confederate army the three generals, Lee, Johnston and Jackson. Had Virginia remained with the Union, it is unlikely that any of them would have commanded a Confederate army : it is possible that Lee and Johnston might have served under the old flag."

Thomas Jonathan Jackson, the youngest of the three, was born in the little West Virginian town of Clarksburg in January 1824. By race he was of that Scotch-Irish admixture which has rendered America such good service in every department of public life. After a boyhood of poverty, with limited opportunities of regular education, he was in 1842 nominated to a cadetship at West Point. Here he spent five years of strict discipline and unflagging application, graduating as seventeenth in his class, high enough to secure his ambition,—a commission in the artillery. In the Mexican War he distinguished himself by his courage and ability, and was rapidly promoted to field rank, outstripping all his West Point contemporaries. After the war he settled down with his regiment to the quietness of garrison life, first at Fort Hamilton, near New York, and

subsequently in Florida. Finding this irksome and believing that a man could better fit himself for high command by breaking away from the mind-killing monotony of military routine, he accepted in 1851 the appointment of Professor of Artillery Tactics and Natural Philosophy at the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington. The Institute was a combination of a military and a public school : such state institutes prepared men to be officers in the state militias, not in the regular army, to which the entry lay through West Point alone. Jackson's duties were varied. He instructed the cadets in drill and the theory of gunnery and in the elements of optics and mechanics. We may safely believe that the drill was well taught : for the rest, there is evidence that his professional labours were not very successful, and had the war not occurred he would have been remembered locally as an unpopular and ungifted teacher, rigorously conscientious, eccentrically devoted to discipline and method. The ten years spent at Lexington were years of quiet development of knowledge and belief : hard work, constant reflection and unwearied self-communion shaped him slowly into a master of war and a devout Christian, and gave him a power of abstraction and self-concentration which not even the roar of battle was able to disturb. For slavery he had no love, but, believing that the Bible showed it to be ordained of God, he accepted it as the best actual relation between the two races ; he interested himself in the amelioration of the condition of the slaves of his locality, and helped to found a school for their instruction, himself labouring in it until the outbreak of war. Devoted to Virginia and the doctrine of State Rights, he offered his services to his own state when secession came and his enthusiasm for the Southern cause was strengthened by a steady hatred of the North, which to him as to many besides seemed to have forced war on the South in a bullying spirit. Liberty to the Virginians was the liberty of Virginia. The patriotism of the South was undoubtedly a narrower patriotism than that of the North,



and its cause was necessarily weakened by the congruity of pro-slavery and state-rights doctrines, but only the wisdom gained from the war could make this clear, and though the world must rejoice that the Northern cause prevailed, we may pay to the South, and above all to Virginia, the tribute that is always due to nobility. The vices of the South have not been mercifully dealt with by Northern historians, of whom Draper, the most philosophical in conception, is the most ungenerous in treatment : their virtues, however, have not been permanently obscured, and as rancour dies away truth there stand revealed. Northern animosity against Lee and Jackson has long since perished : they are no longer petty tyrants, deluging their land in blood lest their tyranny should cease, but American heroes whose memory will remain forever a stimulus. Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie" is not now regarded as the only evidence for Stonewall's manliness, nor is it necessary to invoke the brave lady of Fredericktown as justification for regret at his untimely end.

War is in itself subsidiary to the game of politics, being only one form of political argument, and the secession of the Border States gave to the war of secession its distinctive features. The movements on the Mississippi and the blockade of the Southern coast do not fall within the subject of this article. The Virginian War, "the struggle for the capitals," was to be a four-years long struggle for the capture of Richmond, with the South on the defensive except when defeat of the invader was followed by sorties into Northern territory, as those which ended at the Antietam and Gettysburg—yet at any moment Washington itself might be in danger, and Jackson and his half-starved men again and again enjoyed the knowledge that their appearance near the Potomac filled Washington with terror. Four times Virginia drove back the mighty armies of the North and saved Richmond and the Confederacy—at the first battle of Manassas, by the seven days' fighting, at the second battle of Manassas and at Chancellerville.

But army after army might disappear beneath the heavy blows of Lee and Jackson, general after general might retire into well-earned obscurity; under the stern guidance of Lincoln the determination of the North grew stronger with each repulse, until Grant, unflinching, persistent, methodical, wore down the Virginians, captured Richmond and forced the surrender of the Appomattox. The history of the years thus coldly summarized is the most thrilling of recent episodes in the story of the English-speaking peoples, and it derives a peculiar attractiveness from the circumstance that the struggle was in reality between the political capacity of the North, embodied in Lincoln, and the military capacity of the South, embodied in Lee. A certain school of writers is fond of speaking of the blessings of war, which they regard as primarily and in the main a training ground of character. Without accepting this complacent view of a great evil, we may without paradox believe that the capacities revealed by the war gave to America no contemptible foundation for a national optimism.

When war was certain Jackson offered his services to his state. He was almost unknown; his deeds in Mexico were forgotten, his ability was not suspected, and he was given employment in the state forces merely as commander of the Lexington cadets, who would be useful as drill-masters for the untrained volunteers. Friends, however, soon procured him the charge of Harper's Ferry, an outpost on the northern frontier of the state, where the first collision might reasonably be expected to occur, but before the collision occurred he was relieved by Johnston and appointed to the command of the first Brigade of the Army of Shenandoah Valley. Out of the rough but splendid material now given to him he began by rigid discipline, hard work, and unremitting attention to details, to shape an army which the world was soon to call famous, and to have belonged to which was and is the proudest memory in the South. As the North collected

its forces the Virginians retired from Harper's Ferry, and the first conflict took place at Falling Waters further up the Potomac, where Jackson's handling of his troops won him his commission as brigadier in the army of the Confederacy. Meanwhile Lee was concentrating his available forces at Manassas Junction to meet the column advancing from Washington against Richmond. As it approached, Beauregard, in command at Manassas, asked for reinforcements, and Johnston, who with Jackson was in the Shenandoah Valley, was ordered to join Beauregard if possible. How they gave Patterson the slip and made their famous march from Winchester to Manassas is well known. At Manassas, or Bull Run, was fought the first great battle—"one of the best-planned battles of the war, but one of the worst fought," Sherman afterwards wrote of it—when, after long uncertainty, with victory inclining now to this side, now to that, the steadiness of Jackson's men and his tremendous counterstroke simultaneous with the arrival of the last brigade of the Valley army gave the day to the South. From this time dates Jackson's name of Stonewall, the right to which till his last day he steadily ascribed to his army as his army to him. The story, often vouched for, often denied, is that Lee encouraged his yielding troops with the cry, "Look at Jackson! There he stands like a stone wall," but none disbelieved at the time, and the name was fondly welcomed by a grateful army.

With Manassas the danger passed for the moment. The ruined army, with its attendant crowds of sightseers expecting to escort it in easy triumph to Richmond, fled in panic which died away only when the Potomac was crossed, and critics have since been busied in pointing out that if the victory had been pushed to the full, Washington would have fallen and the war have ended in an early triumph for the South. Later in the war such an attempt would certainly have been made under like circumstances: Jackson above all men of the day appreciated the importance of never giving the enemy time to recover from

defeat, and his men soon learned to trust him implicitly and to respond to his every call upon their power and will, but the men who blundered into victory at Manassas were not yet the men of Grovetown and Chancellorville, and the attempt was not made.

After the battle Jackson returned to the Valley. The rest of the year was quiet in Virginia, the North preparing to put forth all its strength, the South turning its volunteers into drilled soldiers and contemptuously wondering at the North's inactivity. McDowell after his failure at Manassas had resigned, and the hopes of the North were now centred on McClellan, who by insignificant victories in West Virginia had captured the public mind and won a reputation which was to flourish brightly until his next meeting with the foe. The operations of Jackson in the Valley constitute one of the most brilliant portions of American Military annals, and gave Jackson and his army no small part of their enduring fame. At first there was little to promise satisfaction: the dash upon Romney, the quarrel with Loring, and the proffered resignation when at the instance of Loring and his officers Jackson's dispositions were annulled without reference to himself—these episodes contrast strangely with all that was to follow. But even by these Jackson's hold upon the Valley soldiers was strengthened with marvellous results. As with the spring the federals began their long-postponed advance upon Richmond, Jackson, isolated by Johnston's evacuation of Manassas, calmly set himself the daring task of threatening Washington and thereby embarrassing McClellan's movements in the Peninsula. After Kernstown, "strategically a victory, though a tactical defeat" (Henderson), where Garnett's unauthorized order to retire led to a Confederate reverse and his own professional ruin, the campaign was a swoop or a series of swoops upon a bewildered enemy. Disappearing from the Valley at the end of April, he suddenly reappeared at Staunton, and rushing northwards

against Banks, drove him breathlessly to the Potomac, winning brilliant victories at McDowell, Front Royal, Middleton, Newton and Winchester, besides innumerable minor victories in unnamed skirmishes. Less than a month of brilliant generalship had cleared the Valley of Federals, but the surprises of war were to make trial of Jackson himself, and his campaign suddenly threatened to end in the annihilation of his small army at the very moment of its most welcome success. Winchester was cleared of the enemy on 25th May; three days later, while Jackson was watching Harper's Ferry, came news of the converging of McDowell and Fremont from different sides upon his rear, and on the 29th he learnt that Shields, leading McDowell's advance, had taken Front Royal. In this critical situation general and men rose to almost superhuman heights of achievement. Marching nearly sixty miles in as many hours they mystified and baffled the Federals, passed safely between three converging armies, without relinquishing a waggon or dismissing a prisoner, and subsequently turning upon their pursuers defeated them with heavy loss at Cross Keys and Port Republic, victories which not only destroyed Federal hopes of success in the Shenandoah, but also secured direct communication between the valley army and Richmond. In 48 marching days the army had marched 676 miles, fought 8 battles and numberless skirmishes. By its successes, the uneasiness therefrom resulting in the North and its threatened invasion of the North, promoted in a valuable degree Lee's strategy, and developed an efficiency and a confidence soon to find still greater opportunities of service. The mystifying policy continued: the Valley army was quietly led to Richmond towards the end of June and was engaged in fighting McClellan long before its absence from the Valley was discovered. The operations in the Peninsula and the advance upon Richmond from the East, as also Stuart's audacious ride round McClellan's army, are beyond the limits of our subject. The arrival

of Jackson's army enabled Lee to complete his arrangements for victory, and between 26th June and 2nd July were fought the murderous battles which together go by the name of Seven Days' fighting. Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, Savage's Station, Frayser's Farm, Malvern Hill, stubbornly contested and marked by heavy slaughter of both sides, they forced McClellan's retreat and relieved Richmond from the agony that had so long afflicted it, but at heavy cost, 20,000 Confederates having fallen as against 16,000 Federals. The Valley troops suffered greatly, and fortune, which had smiled steadily on them in the Valley, seemed to have deserted them in some degree, as they and their general failed more than once in movements of the utmost importance. Their failures, however, were small in comparison with their successes, and the South blazed with enthusiasm at their deeds, while Lee's approbation was more than sufficient reward for their efforts and endurance.

To relieve the situation and save McClellan's shattered forces, Pope was called from the west to take command of the Federal Army of Virginia, formed of the armies that had been operating under Fremont, Banks and McDowell. A third time Richmond was threatened and a third time saved. The campaign against Pope is marked by Cedar Run, Lee's division of his army, Jackson's outflanking march and capture of Pope's base at Manassas, and subsequent retirement towards the North-west before Pope, the Confederate victories at Grovetown and (second) Manassas. In dividing his army in face of the enemy Lee had broken a recognized rule of war, by uniting the divisions in the field of battle he had accomplished an almost unknown feat: he had driven Pope out of Virginia and made possible the invasion of the North. To these successes Jackson had contributed lavishly. His was the victory at Cedar Run and the command of the advanced division which destroyed Manassas after one of the most famous

marches in history : his the daring attack upon King's division at Grovetown and much of the credit of the fight at Manassas. With scarcely more than 50,000 men Lee, Jackson and Longstreet had driven 80,000 men into the shelter of Washington, with a loss of 13,500 killed and wounded and 7,000 prisoners, and to many in the South it appeared as if Richmond were for ever saved, to many even that Washington was doomed. At last the Southern soldiers could cross the Potomac, and on 6th September began the invasion of Maryland, to be checked before the month was over at the Antietam. In the interval however came the capture of Harper's Ferry by Jackson, a notable exploit of doubtful necessity and advantage, as Lee's written orders for its investment accidentally falling into McClellan's hands, revealed to him the whole of Lee's dispositions and intentions. The bloody battle of the Antietam or Sharpsburg checked the Confederate invasion, it was impossible to turn the Federal flank, and the invading army withdrew beyond the Potomac. Both belligerents were exhausted, but the South were more fortunate than their opponents in that every engagement had added to the lustre of, and confidence in, their generals, while the North with all its fighting capacity was unable to discover competent leaders. In estimating the common statement that Lincoln harassed his generals by continual interference this should be remembered : he gave Grant a free hand in the last year of the war, partly no doubt because he had himself learnt wisdom, but partly because he found in Grant a man who could be trusted to utilize with steady persistence and ability the excellent qualities of his men.

The Northern dilatoriness of the preceding year was not repeated. The invasion of Virginia was renewed under Burnside, who superseded McClellan, and Jackson, who had for some weeks rested his men in the Valley, again enjoying the knowledge that his presence in Winchester made Washington tremble, was called on to join Lee. On 12th December Burnside prepared for action along the

Rappahannock and Lee once more united his scattered army in the presence of the enemy. On the 13th was fought the desperate battle of Fredericksburg, ending after a day of mighty fighting in the bare repulse of the Federals and their masterly retreat across the river. After Fredericksburg came winter quarters, where Jackson employed his leisure in writing for Lee an account of his battles. In this and other duties he spent four quiet months, happy in his employments and in the company of his wife and baby daughter. Then at the end of April the Federals resuming their advance crossed the Rappahannock and Jackson was called away to his last fight. "Fighting Joe Hooker," now in command of the Federal army, threatened Lee's 45,000 (Longstreet with 15,000 men having been detached to protect Richmond from another quarter) with a force of 120,000 supported by 12,000 cavalry and 400 guns. At Chancellorville the armies met; Lee with scarcely 12,000 men and 20 guns held Hooker until Jackson's corps of 22,000 strong, after one of the most famous flanking movements in history, a circuitous march of fifteen miles through the forest against the enemy's unsuspecting flank, threw the Federals into confusion by a sudden and vigorous attack, and Hooker, while congratulating himself on a brilliant victory, was suddenly called on to save a routed and disorganized army. In this he succeeded, partly by his own ability and energy, but mainly by the darkness which arrested operations, and by the disablement of Jackson and A. P. Hill, who alone of the flanking force knew that a vigorous pursuit would have turned defeat into destruction. Jackson, who during a lull in the fight had ridden ahead of his lines, was in the darkness fired upon and severely wounded by some of his own men. He was removed under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, and his right arm amputated, but he grew steadily weaker, pneumonia set in, and he died at Gurney's Station on 10th May. It would be sacrilege to speak of the end in meaner



words than Henderson's : " Already his strength was fast ebbing, and although his face brightened when his baby was brought to him, his mind had begun to wander. Now he was on the battlefield, giving orders to his men ; now at home in Lexington ; now at prayers in the camp. Occasionally his senses came back to him, and about half-past one he was told that he had but two hours to live. Again he answered, feebly but firmly, ' Very good : it is all right.' These were almost his last coherent words. For some time he lay unconscious, and then suddenly he cried out : ' Order A. P. Hill to prepare for action ! Pass the infantry to the front ! Tell Major Hawks—' then stopped, leaving the sentence unfinished, once more he was silent ; but a little while after he said very quietly and clearly, ' Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees,' and the soul of the great captain passed into the peace of God."

Two months later, on the plains of Gettysburg, the Confederates failed. Their courage and persistence were as great as ever and the charge of Pickett's men is immortal, but after two days of magnificent endurance they admitted defeat on the third. Then followed the fifth and most tenacious invasion of Virginia, marked by bloody encounters at the wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbour, the increasing exhaustion of Virginia, the evacuation of Richmond and the bitter surrender at the Appomattox. To the end Lee and his army were heroic, but none of his subordinate generals possessed Jackson's power of wresting victory out of apparent defeat, and Lee was thrown increasingly on the defensive. " If," he said, " I had had Jackson at Gettysburg, I should have won the battle, and a complete victory there would have resulted in the establishment of Southern independence." This opinion was endorsed by the South, was scarcely denied by the North, and is fully accepted to-day. It is not necessary to compare the merits and qualities of Lee and Jackson, or to assume, as some writers have done, that praise of the one is dispraise of the other. Lee's was the greater

task and burden, and in finding a subordinate like Jackson he was peculiarly fortunate. "They supplemented each other," said the Southern President, "and together, with any fair opportunity, they were absolutely invincible." No plan was too audacious, no effort too arduous, for either to propose or accept, and Virginia in her long exhaustion and lamentation for a lost cause had the solace of reflecting that in the courage of her soldiers and the achievements of her leaders she had proved herself worthy of her fame and loyal to her great traditions. None would now wish the result otherwise : the rancour against Southern "rebels" has long yielded to admiration of Southern "patriots" and though the cause for which they fought is dead, the example they gave of everything that makes for manliness will never be forgotten. England has to-day far greater appreciation of the devotion, courage, persistency and self-sacrifice of the Northern soldiers than she had in 1861, and few would suggest that the Northern triumph was not a benefit to the world socially, morally and politically : yet in spite of the growth of the democratic spirit and in spite of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which now forms a regular part of our early diet, admiration of the South and its heroes has never faltered, and the quiet Professor of Lexington has become almost a national hero as worthy of our gratitude and reverence as Cromwell, Havelock or Gordon, who were great as soldiers and Christians.

W. C. WORDSWORTH, M.A.

# THE DACCA UNIVERSITY SCHEME.

BY GEORGE HOWELLS, B. LITT., PH. D.

**T**HE Report of the Dacca University Committee may fairly be regarded as the opening of a new era in Collegiate and University Education in India. The Report in its general outlines, with the scheme it sets forth, appears to me to be most timely in the interests of Indian Education. Bengal is to be heartily congratulated on the prospect of being the first to establish a real teaching and residential University on sound modern lines. The breadth of the scheme is particularly impressive. It is clear that much independent thinking has been put into the proposal. No one pattern is slavishly followed, but helpful features have been adopted from a great variety of Colleges and Universities in Great Britain, the continent of Europe, America and India. It is a scheme that exhibits statesmanship of the broadest type and will be the forerunner of many similar efforts in various parts of India.

Criticisms of the scheme have not however been lacking. Most of the criticisms I have read do not strike me as valid, and before venturing on any criticisms myself, I wish to attempt a reply to some of those urged against the scheme by such prominent educationists as Sir Gooroodas Banerjee.

(1) The Residential system has been attacked on a variety of grounds. (a) It is urged that a University education on residential lines is calculated to be unnecessarily expensive. It would certainly be a calamity if University education in India should become on the ground of excessive expense the exclusive privilege of the well-to-do or the highly clever. It must be admitted that the development of the residential type of

University in Western lands has tended towards such a result. The institution of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, however much it served to give permanence and cohesion to the body of students and professors, has not had the effect of reducing the expense of education in the interests of the individual student. The earliest students at those famous seats of learning were proverbially poor, and they lived under conditions much more primitive than those which now exist in connection with Calcutta students. There were from the first voluntary associations of students and teachers in halls or hostels, and it was out of these that the collegiate institutions of Oxford and Cambridge grew in the thirteenth century. The establishment of colleges resulted in the realization of a new system of University education in the form of collegiate discipline. Students were to a considerable extent guarded from the evil influences of unscrupulous townspeople as well as from the ravages of plague. At first these foundations formed only a small numerical minority in the academic community at large, but their members soon obtained a considerable preponderance in the administration of affairs. The result was that in later times the university and the colleges became co-extensive; every member of the university had to attach himself to some college or hall, and every person admitted to a college or hall was obliged to matriculate himself in the university. All this fully accounts for the exclusiveness and the costliness of education at Oxford and Cambridge. The return in the Nineteenth Century to the non-collegiate system and to the establishment of specially colleges such as Keble, where economy is a first concern, has relieved the situation, though to a very limited extent. I can fully understand the fears entertained regarding the collegiate system at Dacca. It must be admitted that the residential system has tended to make class distinctions harsher and to limit education to an aristocracy of wealth or brilliant intellect. Yet, I do not

consider that any or all of these considerations are at all conclusive against the residential type of university. An exclusive outlook, an aristocratic type of thought, is not a necessary feature of the residential system. Historical conditions account for much. The discipline of a common collegiate life in association with one's fellow-students and one's teachers, surely need no defence in itself. It does good and nothing but good to the individual student under normal conditions. The English type of character, as distinct from the Scottish, the Welsh, the American or the Continental, is essentially conservative and exclusive. The universities only reflect the prevailing type of mind of the middle and upper classes, and the residential type of university cannot be blamed on account of the exclusive outlook of the average English graduate. The difficulty is that the residential universities of Oxford and Cambridge happen to be too much in the possession of the middle and upper classes. Several of the leading American Universities, *e.g.*, the University of Chicago, show an increasing tendency to develop the residential system. Where the outlook is already democratic and radical, the system will not breed harsh class distinctions and an exclusive educational policy. The tendency is calculated to be entirely in the other direction. Even under present conditions some of the biggest Radicals of modern times, men of thought and action, have hailed from Oxford and Cambridge. The residential system when properly worked tends to economy rather than costliness, to breadth of outlook rather than exclusiveness, to democratic rather than aristocratic ideals of life and thought. When it fails to produce these results the fault is in the men, not in the system. Far from being alien to the Indian genius, the residential system is fully in accord with that ancient Indian ideal which required the pupil to reside with his teacher and submit himself to his discipline.

Sir Gooroodas Banerjee maintains that a residential university "is less adapted for moral and religious education

by reason of that very excess of help, assurance of comfort and regularity of supervision, which are less helpful in training men for the rough world outside the college walls, where they have to be resourceful in emergency, to struggle patiently and cheerfully with adversity and to accept the inevitable with calm resignation to a will that is inscrutable and supreme. Living with parents or guardians or in small messes under suitable occasional supervision is far more elastic, gives students far better opportunities of mixing with human beings, not merely as students, and is far more conducive to the growth of those moral and spiritual qualities so necessary for the world than the rigid routine and dead level uniformity of life in a large hostel, where the largeness in the number of boarders must render discipline to a great extent more mechanical than personal. Moreover, differences of caste, creed and colour may create unforeseen difficulties in this country. Then again, judging from facts, it cannot be said that the graduates of the non-residential Scottish and German Universities compare unfavourably with those of the residential universities of England." These are forceful words, but they are by no means conclusive against the residential system. In a well-ordered college hostel or residential college there is certainly that regularity of supervision, which experience has shown to be so necessary to a disciplined life, but there is not that excess of help that would tend to reduce strong young men to the level of helpless babes. The very elasticity that is characteristic of life at home or in small messes is far more likely to produce a helpless, self-centred and irregular type of character. I would say that nothing is more helpful in training men for the rough world outside the college walls than the common life and common discipline characteristic of a residential college. Rigid routine, dead level of uniformity, mechanical discipline,—these are not features of hostel or college life as I have known it in Eastern or Western lands. Difficulties arising from

differences in caste, creed and colour undoubtedly demand patience and resourcefulness, but experience has proved that they are not insuperable. In the main I admit that the graduates of the non-residential Scottish and German Universities do not in important respects compare unfavourably with those of the residential universities of England. As a rule they are not inferior in scholarship and they are less self-conscious, less inclined to put on "side" and to exaggerate class distinctions. On the other hand they may have in a comparatively lesser degree some of the external accomplishments associated with polished and cultured gentlemen. The inferiority in certain respects of the English graduate I would assign to a common English national failing, superciliousness, class pride, lack of consideration for the feelings and rights of others. The residential system cannot eradicate this failing any more than it can be held responsible for it. Scotsmen and Germans trained at Oxford turn out better men than if they had been trained according to the non-residential systems of their own country.

(2) Considerable objection has been raised in various quarters against the provision that has been made for Islamic studies, on the ground that it will only engender sectarian feelings and make the *alumni* of the college narrow and bigoted in their views. It is contended that subjects of study should be selected on liberal principles such as would give the students breadth of view. The proposal, it is thought, will have the effect of widening the breach between Muhammadans and Hindus. The Committee of the British Indian Association maintain "that the principle of Islamic studies, being controlled by the University, that is to say, by a body composed of a majority of non-Mussulmans, is an unwholesome departure from the principle which has been followed uniformly in the case of Sanskrit studies. The Calcutta University very properly leaves the Oriental Department of the Sanskrit College under a Board of Pundits and places the English

Department under its own direct control. The Committee 'are of opinion that the same principle should be followed in the case of Islamic studies.' It is further held that theoretical symmetry and practical justice require equal treatment for the two great departments of Oriental studies, Islamic and Brahmanic. The Dacca University Committee, as Sir Gooroodas Banerjee points out, "express the opinion that the experiment of introducing an Anglo-Sanskrit course should be made in connection with the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. But the Calcutta Sanskrit College cannot confer any degrees in Sanskritic studies like those recommended in Islamic studies, nor can it make Sanskrit titles equivalent to University degrees for any purpose ; whereas the Committee in their Report (p. 101) recommend that Bachelor's and Master's Degrees (B.I. and M.I.) be conferred in Islamic studies, and be regarded as equivalent to the degrees of B.A. and M.A. for Government employment and admission to the B.L. Course. This involves an inequality of treatment of the two great departments of Oriental learning which requires to be removed, for considerations of theoretical symmetry as well as of practical justice."

I have no sympathy with the view that Islamic or other religious studies are unsuitable for a course of general culture in combination with other studies of a literary, historical or philosophical character. The universities exist for the encouragement of all branches of learning. Is a place to be given to all kinds of literature, but sacred literature ignored ? Is the history of various lands and epochs to be recognized, but the history of religion to be tabooed ? What is there in religious literature that fatally disqualifies it in the judgment of some as a subject of academic study ? It is a narrow point of view that would exclude religious literature from our schools, colleges and universities, and from the point of view of true educational enlightenment and intellectual progress, the standpoint



is unsound to the core. Then too in the interests of progress it is highly desirable that sacred literature be studied in a scientific spirit, and its teaching should not be entirely confined to professional moulvies, pundits or priests. There can be no real conflict as to method between men who are imbued with the true historical and scientific spirit. A university can recognize sacred studies only from the standpoint of general learning, and it is eminently desirable that Islamic and other religious studies should ultimately be under the control of the University itself. The criticism of Sir Gooroodas Banerjee as to the desirability of including Brahmanic studies is entirely to the point. But what about Christian studies? Hindus and Mussulmans are too often apt to forget that Christianity has its sacred literature and has quite as great a claim to recognition in University studies as other religions. In this respect the universities of India might learn a lesson from the Christian universities of the West, like Oxford and Cambridge, where it is possible by means of elective Honours Courses for Hindus, Mussulmans and Christians to qualify for the B.A. degree by a historical and scientific study of their respective sacred literatures and philosophies. The proposal of the Dacca University Committee is all in the right direction. Clearly there is no justification for limiting this provision permanently to Islamic studies. Possibly the idea of the Committee was to start with Islamic studies as an experiment and then to follow up the experiment later on with similar courses in Brahmanic and Christian studies.

(3) The College for Muhammadans has been criticized on the ground of its being likely to widen the difference between Hindu and Muhammadan students. It appears to me that it would have precisely the contrary effect. There can be no doubt that there is a wide gulf of separation at present between Hindus and Muhammadans, religiously and socially, and great patience and tact are required if we are to effect ultimately the union of the

two communities in matters social and academic. The Muhammadan influence in East Bengal is strong and in some respects dominant. There is already a tendency among Muhammadans to establish higher educational institutions of their own. The Aligarh College and the movement in favour of a Muhammadan University are indications of these tendencies. Surely it will be well to seek to avoid such developments in Eastern Bengal. The attempt to force the pace and bring about a union that would be largely artificial would be fatal to the growth of that deeper unity that we all desire. The true statesman-like policy is, in efforts after union, to allow the largest possible measure of diversity and independence consistent with real union. Bismarck was a great statesman and he brought into being the German Empire, not by crushing the individuality of the different states, but by bringing them together into a real union and leaving untouched their internal arrangements as far as that was consistent with the great aim he had in view. Bring Hindus and Muhammadans together in one University, but do not compel them to live in the same college, otherwise you are in great danger of wrecking the whole scheme. Allow them a large measure of independence and the spirit of union will inevitably grow in the University atmosphere. I consider there is ample justification for the proposal to institute a separate college for Muhammadans.

(4) The proposal to establish a college for the well-to-do classes has also been severely criticized. It is maintained that the inclusion of such a college in the University will impair the integrity of University discipline by an unequal treatment of the rich and poor side by side and will give rise to unhealthy feelings in each class towards the other. The well-to-do classes, it is maintained, will benefit more by becoming students of an ordinary college and joining in the competition with a better though poorer class of students. As Sir Gooroodas Banerjee has said "to introduce distinction between the rich and the poor in the

temple of learning would ill-accord with one of the noblest and most cherished of human sentiments." But surely there is already a great distinction between the rich and the poor in educational matters, and that distinction cannot be obliterated by forcing all into the same college to live under the same conditions. The wealthy classes of India do not at present patronize to any extent the existing Universities or University Colleges. They establish colleges of their own and live their life free from University influences. The present plan strikes me as statesmanlike in every way. It will have the effect of bringing the well-to-do classes into touch with the larger university life of their country and yet will allow them a large measure of freedom such as they already get in the special colleges established for their own use. No doubt it would be to the benefit of the rich if they live side by side with the poor under exactly similar conditions, but you cannot force them to do so, and, if no special arrangements are made at Dacca for the well-to-do classes, it is extremely probable that this will involve their practical exclusion from university life. Bring them in, in the way proposed, and the social and intellectual contact between the rich and the poor that must inevitably follow will serve to remove much of the unhealthy feeling that at present exists.

There is too another aspect of this proposal that must not be lost sight of. By compelling rich and poor to live together under similar conditions, ultimately you are likely to do a grave injustice to the poor. They will feel obliged to live on a higher scale than they can rightly afford. I know of no temple of learning in which distinction is not made between the richer and the poorer class of students, according to the ability or otherwise to provide special privileges and facilities. No special objection is urged against the institution of Jagannath College for the special benefit of the poorer students.

(5) Several criticisms aimed at certain aspects of the scheme show in my judgment racial feeling. Thus the

Bengal Landholders' Association would "greatly prefer if the warden of the University—the officer charged with the maintenance of outdoor discipline—be an Indian and not a European. Under the present circumstances of the country, the outer discipline which the warden could enforce upon students would, if left in the hands of a European, be a thing imposed by fear; it would be mechanical, artificial and lifeless, and therefore antagonistic to the growth of a free, liberal and generous spirit of obedience and deference.....Students of the new University will be watched in their reading rooms and dormitories; watched and supervised in their sports, pastimes and outdoor exercises; watched, checked and supervised even in their debates and discussions." There are no doubt a few overbearing European as well as Indian Professors, but the above criticism is grossly unfair if it is meant to apply to European educationists as a whole and Indian students themselves would be the first to deny its accuracy. As a rule, European teachers in this country, whether Government or Missionary, while they are disciplinarians, have pleasant relations with their students and are much liked and respected. That there are exceptions to this rule all will admit, but that does not justify such a sweeping criticism of the class as a whole. Again it is maintained by the same Association that "English lady teachers should in no case be appointed to teach in the women's college or to live in the college hostel. The social habits and ideals of the two races are so radically and fundamentally distinct that it would be a source of unmitigated mischief if Indian girls were to imbibe crude and immature European ideas from their lady teachers." This is an altogether unwarrantable libel on the spirit, purposes and methods of English lady teachers as a whole. It is positively amazing to me how such a criticism is possible in view of the noble services that English lady teachers have hitherto rendered to their Indian sisters.

The distinction between the Indian and Provincial Educational services is spoken of by the same Association as "unjust, artificial and obsolete." Will anyone with unprejudiced mind maintain that India has no more need of European teachers? If they still have work to do in this country, it would be altogether unfair to expect them to live on the same allowances as Indians on their native heath. It must not be forgotten too that Indians who have practically made England their home may be members of the Indian Educational service. All this talk of absolute equality in the matter of allowances totally ignores the real merits of the situation. It is well known, for instance, that an Indian student in England is obliged to spend, and therefore needs much more for his support, than the average English student. Does not the same rule hold good for an Englishman living in India, especially if he is a man with family responsibilities?

(6) The Calcutta University through the Registrar and the Vice-Chancellor have indicated those fears as to the effect of the Dacca University scheme on the fortunes of the older University. I think they have done well to make known their fears. Certainly it would be unfair to do anything that would tend to cripple or retard the development of the Calcutta University on the present lines. Calcutta has without doubt made very great advance in the direction of becoming a real teaching University, and Sir Ashutosh Mukerji is to be heartily congratulated on the success of his efforts with this end in view. It seems probable that in due time all the post-graduate work of the University will be done by the University itself, and in this the Government ought to render very liberal help. Post-graduate teaching and the encouragement of rewards are the real duties of a true University, and Calcutta is yet destined to do magnificent work in that direction. As secondary and higher education becomes more general, the number of provincial affiliated colleges is likely to increase, and they may take the place

that *lycees* occupy in the educational life of France. My own idea of the educational ladder would be (1) Elementary primary school for all children from five to eleven ; (2) High Schools with two departments (a) literary and scientific, (b) technical and commercial, for pupils from eleven to fifteen ; (3) Provincial Colleges for students from fifteen to nineteen leading to the degree of B.A. after a course in history, literature, and science ; (4) the University with specialized courses of study in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, Education, Theology, etc., and leading after three years' study to the M.A. degree or to a bachelor's degree in any special faculty such as Science (pure and applied), Law, etc., and, after another three years' study, to the doctorate. Should education in Bengal be reorganized on these lines, as I think it ultimately will, the possibilities of the University of Calcutta are great in every way, only special importance will need to be attached to provincial colleges on the one hand and to the higher University degrees proper on the other. Dacca University has a great future, but with courage, self-sacrifice and a statesman-like policy Calcutta need not fear.

(7) The most serious criticism I would offer is in regard to the courses of study in English. The Calcutta system has been too closely followed. There must be some degree of uniformity in view of the fact, as the Report remarks (page 23), "students may sometimes be compelled to transfer from one University to the other." But something very radical will need to be done in the direction of modifying the courses of study in English, if students are to secure the full advantages of the higher University training. As the Report points out (page 23), "Indian students enter the University at a very early age ; they study in a foreign language and their initial attainments are often poor. The first two years of University study should therefore be designed to carry general education to a point which will enable the students to embark on

a course of higher University training." It really means that the two junior years of the University course must be devoted to such preparatory studies as will qualify them to undertake regular College or University work. The average boy coming from the average Indian High School knows practically nothing of English History and English traditions. The life and thought of the West, ancient and modern, are to him a blank. He is quite capable of regarding Scott and Milton, George Washington and Luther, Wordsworth and Socrates, if he has ever heard their names, as contemporaries. Under these conditions he is set to work on some of the masterpieces of English literature which presuppose for their proper appreciation a background of knowledge that the Indian student cannot be expected to have and which he never will get unless he takes History as a special subject. I would maintain that History should be compulsory for the Intermediate and that it should be regarded as a part of the English course. I would make no distinction between the two, *i.e.*, English and History. Such books as are set should be historical and written in ordinary plain English. The junior course in Arts, therefore, in our judgment, might include four subjects: (1) English and History, (2) a Vernacular Language, (3) any two other subjects such as a Classical Language, Mathematics, Logic, Physics and Chemistry. There could be five or six papers in English and History, one in the Vernacular Language and two in each of the other two. As to text-books of English and History we would suggest some such works as the following:—Green's *Short History of the English People*, (2) Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History*, (3) History of Indian Civilization, such as is outlined in the second volume of the *Indian Empire* (new edition), (4) a Handbook on the English Language, Grammar, History and Literature (such as that by Professor Meiklejohn).

These works contain more than 2,000 pages of solid reading matter. As to English History I cannot understand

why this subject should be made entirely optional from the Matriculation to the B.A. In one of the three courses it should certainly be compulsory if English literature is to be so, and I think the Intermediate is the course in which it should be compulsory. I do not hesitate to characterize the present method as a profound blunder from the educational standpoint, and it seems to me that Government is missing a great opportunity in doing no more than is contemplated to correct things in connection with the Dacca University course. A careful study of such a work as Green's Short History would, from every standpoint, be worth more than a dozen literary works to the average boy coming to the University for the first time. As to Universal History I may point out that its study is quite common in educational institutions in America and Germany and its educational value is great. The book mentioned is by the well-known Professor of Yale University and is admirably adapted for the purpose it has in view. The Indian student who has made a careful study of it, or some similar work, would have a background of knowledge, as is really necessary for the more advanced study in the B.A. course. As to Indian Civilization it is very necessary that it should be studied on historical lines, and Volume II. of the Indian Empire would serve this purpose admirably as distinct from the traditional method as applying to things Indian. Three or four works of the character indicated, taught by men thoroughly familiar with their subject and interested in it, supplemented by special reading and essays, would, I am convinced, be a far more effective training than the present system.

On page 37 we have the remark "it will assist young students if they are brought as much as possible into contact with European teachers." In English and History, however, there are only some eight English Professors for 3,000 students. It is clear that only a very small fraction will have this opportunity. Junior students just coming



from High Schools need such contact most, but from the nature of things they will get practically none at all. It seems to us that the exigencies of the situation would suggest that a number of Englishmen be set apart specially for tutorial work for the benefit of junior students. The English teachers may be more safely dispensed with in the senior classes. This is a matter that should be viewed from the standpoint of efficiency only.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**BUDDHISM AND SCIENCE.**—By Paul Dahlke.  
(Macmillan & Co., 7s. 6d. net.) Translated from the  
German by the Bhikkhu Silacara. (A Review.)

The Western world is awaking with a sense of surprise to the fact that many of its hard-won intellectual triumphs were anticipated in the psychology of that Master-thinker Gautama the Buddha. It is undoubtedly true that he and his followers worked out a system of thought which is wonderfully complete and which has remarkable affinities with some of the findings of modern science; that they anticipated modern psychology in its emphasis upon the will and in its belief in intuition as a guide to truth; and that they even foreshadowed that theory of the "subconscious" which Professor James has called the most important step taken by Psychology in the last 30 years.

All this the Western thinker will grant, and he will confess that their conception of the world as process is more scientific than the conception of it as static product; and that "transmitted force" is a more up-to-date view of actuality than "permanence and identity." He will reflect on the other hand that this is very much what Heraclitus taught, and that after all it leaves undisturbed our religious life which is centred, not in philosophy, but in living experience.

So Christianity has again and again accepted the teachings of science and either absorbed them into her philosophy or found them already implicit in it.

We have come to think, for instance, of Creation, not as a matter of past history but as eternal process; of God, not as remote artificer but as indwelling and informing spirit; of the soul, not as a kind of mannikin residing in the pineal gland but as developing character—"actus" rather than "*spiritus*."

And all this without shaking our faith in the religion of Christ, for it is surely the only satisfactory synthesis we have yet seen of the mechanism which science reveals

with the First Cause which Philosophy demands. Moreover modern psychology gives support to the mystics' claim that by intuition man may know God immediately, and nothing can shake the conviction wrought into the soul of the man of prayer that there is one who answers, or of the convert that he has gained power and peace from one greater and holier than himself.

Yet there are other systems of belief which also fit the facts—if not as closely, yet so closely as to satisfy many thinkers orphaned in the world of faith—and of these systems Buddhism is one—a *via media* between faith and science.

So Dr. Dahlke expounds it for us : and his book is one to make men think. For he claims that the "intuition" of Gautama Buddha is the true philosophy which the world is seeking : and that Karma as he expounded it is the truest conception we can form of the nature of man—a beginningless, endless process, a lightning flash of energy, a river—always changing yet always the same.

And this energy passes over from body to body, "the distaff keeps ceaselessly turning" but "a new charge of wool has been placed upon it."

"It is like an universal round dance, this Samsara. Karma has seized his partner, and with her whirls through the infinitudes until she collapses with fatigue, is worn out or become clumsy and heavy slips from him because she no longer suits him. She no longer suits him however because there is another whom she suits better." (p. 166.)

In other words, the energy wears out or discards one body : this is "death ;" only to pass over to a newer one ; this is "birth"—or, better, this is reindividualization. For as has been so often explained it is not a transmigrating soul that passes across from one existence to another, but energy. To use the famous simile of the Milinda Prasna it is as when one lamp is lit from another—nothing passes across but heat or energy.

All this is sound exposition of the Buddha's teaching, well and vigorously put—even if at somewhat needless length.

I remember when Dr. Dahlke's "Buddhist Essays" first appeared asking my Pali teacher in Ceylon if he knew Dr. Dahlke : "Why not ?" was his reply, "seeing that it was I who taught him all he knows of Buddhism" and the pupil has certainly learnt his lesson well. As he justly remarks in the book before us "Western scholars

would do well to sit at the feet of the native scholars somewhat more than they at present do," and it will need long sessions before we of the West can really get to the point of view from which Buddhism sets out.

Our author has succeeded very largely in his endeavour to see the world Buddhistically. If we may venture to read between the lines he was already in revolt from "Science" and "Faith" alike when he found the *via media* he now follows, and there are undoubtedly not a few similarly placed—orphans in the world of faith who find the milk offered by Science somewhat thin and sour in the mouth and are seeking some more satisfying food.

Many of them are finding it in the ethical teachings of Gautama, so reasonable and winsome are these: but "*Buddhism and Science*" goes behind the ethical system to the psychology and the philosophy of Buddhism, and Christian and Buddhist alike owe Dr. Dahlke a debt of gratitude for delving so deep and endeavouring to lay bare the foundations of the Buddhist creed.

One regrets that in doing so he has not quoted more freely from the Pali Texts—that he has in fact given us more of Dahlke than of Buddha.

One resents too the sweeping implication that all thinkers who come between these two master-minds are fools and blind, and one detects here and there a certain Dionysiac rage and an animus which are far from scientific and which offend against reverence. Are not true science and true reverence nearly allied? Thus after quoting a passage from Professor Huxley our author breaks out thus:—"O *agnus dei!* lend me but a little of thy lamb's patience, that so I may be able to smile at this tangle of profound absurdities, this *docta ignorantia*. And this they call weighing a difficult problem with 'scientific circumspection'!"

"Men so comport themselves," he says in another place, "that oftentimes one could almost wish to live sufficiently long to hear the helpless laughter of posterity. And, with it all, what erudition." (p. 180.)

Otherwise expressed, what Paul Dahlke sees to-day posterity will realize in the dim future, and our author quite frankly claims to be one of the master-thinkers who sow the seeds for future harvesting. "Three kinds of books there are. First, those that give nothing and from which we demand nothing. These constitute the greater portion of the book-world; empty entertainment for the idle. Secondly, those books that give the unfamiliar and

are unfamiliar to us—that is, demand only our memory. These are the manuals of instruction presenting facts. And, thirdly, those books that give themselves and demand ourselves. These are the books that are mental nutriment in the real sense of the words, and impart to the entire process of mental development a stimulus, which, like the stimulus imparted to a growing tree, never again can be lost. The present book makes claim to belong to the last category. As something experienced by myself, it is meant to become such an experience to others.”..... “Three kinds of men there are. First, the indifferent, comparable to the inert bodies of chemistry. To them applies the saying of Confucius, ‘Rotten wood cannot be turned.’ Secondly, the believers, comparable to those chemical bodies whose affinities are satisfied. In so far as their faith is genuine, to these applies already during their lifetime, the parable of beggar Lazarus in Abraham’s bosom. And thirdly there is the thinking class, the destitute of faith, corresponding to chemical bodies in the nascent state. To them applies that word of the Buddha ‘Painful is all life.’ Our book has value only for this third, last kind.”

This is very Buddhistic and reminds one of the Anguttara Nikaya in the form in which it is cast : yet one misses the accuracy and precision of thought to be found in that great book. What for instance are we to make of the following definitions :—

Science is “that particular form of mental life which rejects in principle what is not perceptible to sense, thereby of necessity is confined to the re-actual world.” (p. 38.) But is not Psychology also a branch of Science and an all-important branch—especially to the student of Buddhism? And does not psychology deal with many things not perceptible to sense?

As we shall see it is to the science which deals with the human mind that the appeal must ultimately be made. How else shall we distinguish between one intuition and another? And in fact one could wish that Dr. Dahlke in attempting to give us a “Theory of the Universe” had not contented himself so largely with physics and biology, but had gone on to see more fully than he has what modern Psychology and Sociology have to add to their findings.

Would it not be truer to say that science is the description of phenomena and the hypothesis of constant relations between them? And if so it is not necessarily antagonistic

to "Faith;" but like it deals with many things it has never seen or handled, such as "force" and "mass," which are really metaphysical conceptions.

Take next Dr. Dahlke's definition of "faith:" it is as much too wide as his definition of science is too narrow.

"Faith," he tells us, "is that particular form of mental life which recognizes an 'imperceptible to sense in itself,' i.e., *believes*, and so doing assumes a universal adequate cause in itself for the entire play of world-events." (p. 39.)

If this is the work of "*Faith*" what shall we say of theistic and monistic forms of philosophy which also assume "a universal adequate cause in itself?"

Dr. Dahlke has in fact not really thought out the distinctive provinces of either science, or philosophy, or religion.

"Science, properly speaking," he assures us, "is always *materialistic* and its conception of the play of world-events is always strictly *mechanical*." (p. 39.)

The first statement is like saying that mathematics is always atheistical! As so many of the men he scorns have pointed out again and again science does not explain, but describes, and materialism is not science but pseudo-philosophy.

Again, it is surely true to say that the teleological conception of biologists like Weissman and Virchow have replaced physical conceptions by psychical ones even in plant life, and that psychology refuses a materialistic interpretation of the facts of consciousness. Science therefore even when it philosophizes is not "*strictly mechanical*."

The psychical facts in evolution cannot be overlooked and here is a whole series of phenomena which as it seems to me Buddhism is powerless to explain—for it is frankly agnostic and pluralistic, there is no great purpose being worked out and there is in fact nothing of organic unity in the countless separate streams of energy which form the lives of plants and animals and men.

The teaching of Lotze that even the interaction of chemical atoms pre-supposes a common penetrative "worldground" seems to us to give a death-blow to this pluralistic view of a purposeless world of actuality: for without a common basis there could be no interaction. Moreover, our instinct for explanation is not to be denied: if the world is purposeful then our instincts are a guide to truth and in fact it is our instincts which must help us

to decide whether we can accept the "intuitions" of Gautama Buddha or not.

Why should not the "intuition" of Jesus that there is a Father God in whom we live and move and have our being be equally authoritative?

And this brings us to the crucial question how shall we test these "intuitions" which for the experience are so satisfying and so conclusive?

There are several tests. We may for instance take them to the touchstone of reason: and ask what is most reasonable, a world of unrevealed purposeless energies without beginning or end, or a world of orderly social activities, issuing from a Father God and working out a lofty purpose of love? Which view best fits the facts? Again, we may apply a pragmatic test and ask which world-theory produces the most beneficent results? Which produces the happier and fuller and nobler type of character? To bring the matter to a head:

Which is greater ethically, Gautama the Buddha or Jesus the Christ? Paul the ideal Christian or Asoka the ideal Buddhist? Which is the more potent force in social regeneration? Here too we may pause to note that the social teachings of Gautama and the social propaganda of Asoka are bits of splendid inconsistency. For as Dr. Dahlke himself has shown, "Kamma is nothing but a sum in arithmetic" and calculation is the basis of the moral system reared upon this foundation. Where then is there room for love, for disinterestedness, if all I do is for my own sake? But we anticipate: another volume is to follow which will deal with the religion and morality of the Buddhist system.

Meantime this "Buddhism as world-theory" as the original title of the German edition reads is suggestive and thought-compelling, and the following quotations will give a fair idea of Dr. Dahlke's vigorous style and of the general trend of his interpretation of the Buddha-thought.

"To doubt is the duty of man and the Buddha is the representative type of humanity, because the doubter." (p. 28.) Yet it is no less true to say with Plato "wonder is the mother of philosophy:" man wants to know and cannot abide in a state of perpetual doubt.

"All that is, all processes whatsoever, whether they be re-actual or whether they be actual, all is Sankhara. This is the epistemological key-word of Buddhism. Its meaning is, all is of a compounded, of a conditioned nature." (p. 40.)

Buddhism in fact carries the process of analysis to extremes. We need synthesis also, the process of viewing many facts or process in relation to some sort of unity or system. To say, *e.g.*, that our personality is nothing but the stream of our consciousness, and that if we can analyze we can fully explain—is untrue : and the objections so often urged against Hume's analytical method hold equally against the method of Gautama Buddha and of Paul Dahlke. In the words of Professor Royce "May not analysis be merely an aspect, a part of our live-thinking? May not all genuine demonstration involve synthesis as well as analysis, the making of new constructions as well as the dissection of old assertions?"

Another leading idea of Gautama is well expressed in the following words :—

"The Buddha conceives of the entire *actual* world, *i.e.*, the world of self-sustaining processes as an infinitely large number of combustion processes. Every being burns in virtue of a purely individual *in-force*, *Kamma*."

"Faith says, '*Everything stands*,' namely, in the place in which it has been set by that 'force in itself,' God. Science says, '*Everything falls*,' which means that she neglects actual forces in general. The *Buddha* says, '*Everything burns*,' meaning that every process exists in virtue of a single *in-force*, peculiar to itself." (p.45.)

Yet Pantheistic forms of "Faith" are by no means static, some even conceiving of a developing God : and teleological forms of "Science" do not say that phenomena are purely reactions.

And the Buddhist conception of human lives as combustion processes, sustaining themselves by volitional activities may be physiologically sound, yet it is wholly unsatisfying to our moral sense : and that it is so is proved by the craving for "escape" which we find in all Buddhist lands. "May not the intellect deserve at times, as William James said, to be snubbed?" Certainly no philosophy which runs counter to our ethical life deserves to be made the basis of it !

"I sustain my own existence through the perpetually up-welling of volitional activities. It is possible for these to spring up again and again only so long as an object for my willing is present, *i.e.*, so long as the delusion of identity is not put an end to. The moment any being arrives at the insight that there are in truth no identities, that there are nothing but flickering, flaring processes of combustion, which are one thing when I crave for them,



another, when I stretch forth my hand to seize them, and yet again, another, when I have seized them and hold them fast, he stops short, begins to reflect ; and in reflection the blind impulse to live is snapped and weakened. The knowledge is borne in upon him : It is not worth the seizing."

Yet Buddhism is not pure reason : it asks a great leap of faith of its followers : faith in the intuition of Buddha, faith in his claims to be able to see into his past existences, faith, in his omniscience.

"The Buddha-teaching is a pure intuition, is *the* intuition, and proves itself such in that any attempt to treat of it after the methods of science, to master it inductively, is impossible." (p. 84.)

And so with respect to the Buddha-thought, the only thing to be done is to ask : "Of what use, of what service is it as a working hypothesis ?"

"If here it is of any service, a man will place confidence in it. If a man places confidence in it, he will reflect upon it. If he reflects upon it, he allows his thoughts to dwell upon it. If he allows his thoughts to dwell upon it, the more readily will the possibility occur of the mind leaping to the truth of the teaching and recognizing, 'It is so.'" In other words, his belief in the Buddha's system will contain elements of intuition, elements of inference and elements of tradition : and the crucial question is Are they true ? If, *e.g.*, the Resurrection be a fact, then they are not true ; and this as in the first centuries is the citadel of the Christian Faith. And the evidence for it is surely much stronger than that for the Nirvana of Gautama Buddha !

Space forbids that we should follow Dr. Dahlke through his interesting essays on the Problem of Physics, the Problem of Physiology and the Problem of Biology. Suffice it to say that here is a goodly store of erudition, and that each chapter has suggestive and illuminating thoughts occasionally enlivened by a bit of "polemics" (though the author disclaims any polemical intention.)

We cannot end this review without congratulating the Bhikkhu Silacara on the admirable translation he has produced,—no easy task, for the Dahlke vocabulary is as revolutionary as the Dahlke philosophy. Let us hope that if another English edition appears it will have an index and a title which more truly represents the German "Buddhismus als Weltanschauung."

THE WINNING OF THE BEST.—By Ralph Waldo Trine. (G. Bell and Sons.)

The spirit of this book is optimistic, and its leading idea is the creative power of thought as the instrument of happiness. The author is convinced that optimism is a greater force in the world of thought than pessimism. Optimism "marks the man or woman of commonsense and energy in distinction from one of supine inactivity." Samuel Johnson had the same idea when he said that "the habit of looking at the bright side of things is worth more than a thousand a year" and Chesterton agrees that "the man who believes life to be excellent is the man who alters it most."

Happiness is to be gained by thought working in the direction of simplicity. Under the influence of modern types of religious philosophy we may have full confidence in the effectiveness of thought. The day of materialism is over and the mental has come to its own again. Thought is recognized as one of the "most potent and powerful influences in inducing health and strength and vigour in connection with all bodily organs and functions." In practical life the secret of success is hopeful thought, and this also is of service in increasing the joys of society and diminishing its sorrows. The thoughts which we require to banish are those which cause fear and create worry. These are the "black twins" to whom we must bid farewell. In regard to others our thoughts must be full of sympathy and must be the guiding lights towards service.

To a certain extent Mr. Trine is in agreement with the position of the Christian Scientist, but has a wider and saner outlook. In healing bodily diseases he would not, *e.g.*, depend entirely on the power of thought. Medicines were given us to use and it is folly not to use them. "There is no reason why we should not use every agency which God has placed in the world and at our disposal, that will minister in any way to our needs. Who shall say that if a certain property is inherent in a certain herb, it is not intended for our use, if we are able to discover its use and if occasion requires." There is a certain tendency in the book to sacrifice more sombre ethical demands to the attraction of a poetic mysticism. We are parts of the life of God and in realization of this truth lies our salvation and our peace, but there is here also a danger that this attitude may induce a measure of passivity and facile contentment. In an early chapter we read, "We should be lenient in judging another and

we should be lenient in judging ourselves." We may agree readily with the first part of the exhortation, but is there not a considerable amount of danger in the second? It may not be well to linger too long over our shortcomings, but it is ethically necessary to linger long enough to realize them. However it cannot be said that this ethical light-heartedness weakens to any extent the spiritually elevating power of the book, and in another chapter the author fully recognizes that the Life of God cannot work in us except "in the degree that we open ourselves to and work in conjunction with it."

Perhaps the most striking chapter in the book is "The Best is the Life." It is an attempt to recall the American people from the worship of material success and to emphasize spiritual values. We may admire the great ability shown in successful commercial undertakings; but to allow one's whole energies to be absorbed in these is to miss the best in life. "Life is so much more interesting than boards and bricks, than lands and business blocks, and even bank accounts, the men who are thoroughly interested in life are always of more account, and are always of greater value to the world as well as to themselves than those who are interested only in these." Again, "It is little short of marvellous to think what a few men with these splendid equipments, scattered throughout our various communities and cities and states, could do for civic advancement, were they to throw their energies as actively along these lines as they have thrown them into their various lines of business."

The whole tone of the book is healthy and inspiring. It will do much to "inoculate our minds with the germs of happiness instead of those of fear or worry or cynicism or discontent" and it will strengthen our belief that "no clear thinking or clear seeing man or woman can be an apostle of despair." The exceeding beauty of many of the thoughts leads us to overlook the glaring inequalities of style, and the tastefulness of the binding compensates for the somewhat unattractive printing.

**A PRIMER OF HINDUISM.**—By J. 'N. Farquhar, M.A. (Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Oxford University Press.)

A second edition of this valuable little book was certainly warranted, and the Oxford University Press have done

good service in putting it before the public in its present attractive form. The book is a perfect mine of information and is the fruit of wide reading and diligent research. The only fault one would be inclined to find with it is that the information is rather too closely packed. For this reason it might with advantage be preceded by a book in which the leading ideas of Hinduism were treated of in more general fashion and without quite so much wealth of compressed detail. It will be of more use for guiding the serious student than for attracting the indifferent, but, granting that interest has been aroused, one could not have a more satisfactory guide for further study. It is a book which should always be kept at hand for purposes of reference, and its use will prevent much confusion in the minds of those who have advanced somewhat further in their study on Hinduism than have those for whom it is primarily intended. There is enough material in the book for expansion into several volumes, and even then the thought would not be thin. We believe that there is a probability of such expansion being undertaken by Mr. Farquhar himself in the near future.

The conviction of the writer is that Hinduism cannot be properly studied unless it is studied historically, and he sets before us in clear outline the various periods of development, from the creative period of the Vedas down to the period of Western influence. The chronology of Indian religious literature has always been a matter of extreme difficulty, but Mr. Farquhar has, in many cases, surmounted these difficulties and he is not afraid to confess ignorance where there are not sufficient data. The book is copiously illustrated, chiefly with photographs of sculptures and temples, and at the end of each chapter several most useful tables are given, showing the relations of the various systems and the connected literature. Illustrative readings are also given which are fairly typical of the literature which is under discussion. The chapter on *Essential Hinduism* gives in a few short paragraphs an illuminating summary of the central doctrines of Hinduism, and the concluding chapter on the future of Hinduism is an interesting study of the influences which at the present day are leading to a transformation of the religion. The author thinks that, unless modern thought and Western influence can be excluded, Hinduism is bound to change rapidly. The rites of the religion are still performed, but there is little belief in their efficacy, and our modern historical knowledge of the origin of races have made the ancient

theories of caste untenable. The defence of idolatry as a useful means for the religious education of the ignorant cannot long be maintained in face of the growing scepticism of the defenders. The conception of progress has laid hold of the Indian mind and has undermined the belief in merely cyclic changes,—in general, a new ethical atmosphere is being created in which pantheistic beliefs cannot thrive. A new religion must be found which will provide a religious response to the ideas which are now dominant and stimulate the people to purity, progress and strength. It is curious, the writer points out, that many of the ideas which are now found in Hinduism were not discovered until Christian thought appeared in India, and this justifies him in his assertion that “Christianity is unquestionably the source of the new explosive thought which is re-creating the Indian character and intellect to-day.” We may also follow him in his concluding statement that “except Christianity, there is no religion in the whole world that is rich enough in theology, worship, emotion, literature to take the place of Hinduism.”

#### A LITTLE PILGRIM OF THE UNSEEN.—(Messrs. Macmillan and Co. Shilling Edition.)

This is the latest edition of a book which has had many readers since its first publication in 1882, judging from the number of times it has been reprinted.

It is an attempt to picture the joys of Heaven as believed in by Orthodox Christianity. The author, who is unknown, disarms criticism in his foreword. “The following pages . . . sprang out of those thoughts that arise in the heart when the door of the Unseen has been suddenly opened close by us; and are little more than a wistful attempt to follow a gentle soul which never knew doubt, into the New World, and to catch a glimpse of something of its glory through her simple and childlike eyes.”

As such it will still make its appeal to many who desire to present to their own minds a definite picture of the Hereafter. But to others, being a pure fancy and a somewhat sentimental one, though gracious enough, about what is unknowable, it will not appear to be of much value.

## ESSENTIALS OF HINDUISM.—(G. A. Natesan, Madras.)

This is a collection of short papers contributed to the *Leader* of Allahabad in answer to the question "What is Hinduism?" The task of answering the question has presented insuperable difficulties and the book is a revelation of the weakness of Hinduism rather than a useful apologetic. A few doctrines are mentioned by certain of the writers as constituting the essence of Hinduism, but again it is said that is not necessary to hold these doctrines in order to be a Hindu, in fact "you may believe any doctrine you choose, even atheism, without ceasing to be a Hindu." A little further on we are told that we may renounce the belief, provided we conform to the custom which is the outcome of such belief. Custom with such a foundation would seem to be in a position of somewhat unstable equilibrium. Nor in custom even can we find any uniformity, for many of the writers would allow entrance into Hinduism even to those who openly disregard the requirements of caste. The general conclusion seems to be that no positive definition of Hinduism can be given. One writer says that anyone is a Hindu who in good faith declares himself to be such. But if we can form no idea of what Hinduism is, how is it possible for us to declare adherence? Another writer essays a legal definition—a Hindu is anyone whom the law-courts regard as a Hindu. Here again we seem compelled to ask the further question: *Why* do the law-courts declare a man a Hindu? Most of the contributors fall back upon negative definition. A Hindu is declared to be a man who is not a Christian or a Buddhist or a Mohamedan or, in other words, whoever is not a non-Hindu is a Hindu. We do not seem to have advanced very far, and the writers who frankly confess that Hinduism cannot be defined, have adopted what probably is the only possible procedure. Only they should not go on to commend Hinduism because of its toleration. If it has, as is acknowledged by most of the writers, no definite character, it can of course take up no definite attitude of exclusion to any form of faith. But it at the same time abandons its functions as a religion, for surely a religion is meant to furnish guidance, and we do not discover much of this in unlimited receptivity.

## MAGAZINES.

"THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW".—December 1912.

The *Hindustan Review* for December, the Behar Congress number, devotes the greater part of its space to matter appropriate to the new province which would rejoice in the description "Royal" spurning altogether the description of Lord Curzon—"The leavings of Bengal." As a factor in Indian nationalism Behar would make itself out unique in so far as it can manifest a community of feeling not found elsewhere. Sectional and parochial differences are sunk for the sake of a wider combination and co-operation. For the advancement and welfare of their province Hindus and Mohamedans are waiting to join hands in a spirit of toleration and compromise that is certainly not without its lesson for other parts of India. The rest of the matter in this number of the *Review* promises well from the titles of the articles which deal mainly with questions of public interest. In view of the prominence at present given to the problems connected with the Public Services in India we turn readily to what Mr. Subramania Iyer has written. He is obviously, however, too discontented to take a fair outlook upon the whole matter. The efficacy of some features of the present system may be and are questioned but comprehensive condemnations are almost certain to be discredited. Unfortunately, it is not always the entrusting of responsibility that develops the faculty of discharging that responsibility faithfully. Such a faculty usually has a deeper root. It is well, too, that in the services there should be some irreducible minimum of efficiency. Another article that attracts one by its title is that on *Political Science in Ancient India*. To a political philosopher, however, the matter would prove uninteresting for it is largely composed of notes on and quotations from the Sanskrit texts which do not seem to give any very clear idea of what the writer professes to aim at. This subject seems to be an excuse for an inappropriate display of erudition. Captain Hill in an article on *Science and Indian Nationalism* puts forward ideas that immediately appeal to one as charged with much that is true. He would lay emphasis on the practical aspect of life. "Indian Nationalism.....is at present nothing but an ill-inspired and clumsy attempt to give actual expression to a mental state which owes its origin to a totally unassimilated series of ideas." Some of the truth of his contention, however, is clouded by controversial statements which seem to be

quite unnecessary. Others of the main articles deal with the Indian National Congress, China, Home Rule for Ireland and the new President of the United States. On matters Indian the *Review* gives an interesting reflex of a phase of educated opinion which it is well to have placed before us in this authoritative way. It interprets, too, in a sympathetic and generous spirit questions which do not concern the Indian public so intimately but which, nevertheless, are of great importance.

“THE INDIAN REVIEW.”—December 1912.

The *Indian Review* for December maintains its popular and interesting character. In matter it is voluminous and in scope wide. The Editor treats historically the question of the Indian element in the Public Services. He expresses the strong opinion that the distinction between the Imperial and Provincial Branches of the Services should be removed and that the examinations for candidates should be held simultaneously in both Britain and India. A symposium follows on the Indian cash balances held in England which recently have given rise to so much discussion and controversy. The three writers maintain, though in different degrees of vehemence, that at least clear and definite information as to the disposal of these balances ought to be obtainable, and that, if feasible, they ought to be made available in this country for trade purposes. The rest of the magazine shows a wonderful catholicity. The articles are too numerous to be detailed but of them might be mentioned “Mazzini and Young India” by Rev. W. E. Tomlinson; “a Biographical Sketch of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as an Educationist and Reformer” and “Side-lights on Technical Education” by Mr. Rhenvari. We are also provided with the text of Mr. Gokhale’s speech at Bombay on the Indians of South Africa and the impressions he gathered from his tour; the list of questions issued by the Public Services Commission to Non-official Witnesses and various short notes on questions of interest.

“THE MONIST.”—October 1912.

The issue of this magazine for the last quarter of 1912 does not contain many articles of general interest. Two articles on “Logistics” take up more than a third of the



total number of pages and they are followed by severely technical articles on "The Philosophy of Relativity" by the Editor and "Atomic Theories of Energy" by Arthur E. Borthwick. "The Criticisms and Discussions" will appeal more to the general reader! In an illuminating article Mr. Günther Jacoby institutes a comparison between Bergson and Schopenhauer and the Pragmatists, and he finds in particular, that Bergson's philosophy bears many of the family traits of Schopenhauer, and he traces both systems back to old German mysticism and finally to the Indian Vedanta.

"THE DAWN MAGAZINE."—Vol. XV, 1912, 1st January, 1st February 1913.

We have received an attractively bound copy of this magazine for 1912, containing many interesting articles bearing especially on the construction of the new Delhi and the Dacca University question. The opening number for 1913 is mainly taken up by an article from the pen of Mr. Havell and a supplementary article by the Editor of the paper. Both writers appeal for a better recognition of the merits of Indian civilization and urge that a "sympathetic study of the different aspects of Oriental life" and thought should be no longer a mere question of personal inclination, but an indispensable introduction to the Indian Government Services. The February number is devoted mainly to the discussion of Indian architectural ideals in reference to town-planning.

"THE THEOSOPHICAL PATH."—October-December 1912.

As represented in this magazine Theosophy does not suffer from a deficient sense of its own importance. There are articles in the October issue showing its influence on Shakespeare's works and its presence in the Old Testament. Its teaching is turned to practical account in an argument against the death penalty and it is used also in favour of the taking of a sufficient amount of exercise. There are other articles which show a considerable width of interest, and these numbers are like their

predecessors, characterized by excellence of typography and illustration. In the December number there are discussions of the Christmas legend. The spiritual message of Christmas is beautifully elaborated, but, as usual, vague theory takes the place of concrete facts. One wonders when Theosophists and their followers will become philosophical and attain to a proper understanding of the relations of cause and effect.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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